



Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-035
Friday
21 February 1992

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Yeltsin Call For Alliance With U.S. Viewed

924P0075A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Oskin, military reservist: "Disarm, But Within Limits"]

[Text] It seems that the disarmament race has seized half the planet. Russian fellow countrymen are rightly pointing to the cutbacks in military spending for defense, with the prospect of increasing their own subsistence minimum. Even across the ocean the taxpayer is hopefully awaiting some easing of his own financial patriotic obligations. In short, the impression is being created that worldwide disarmament paradise is starting...

But no. It is not all so simple. Amidst the noisy euphoria of pacifism many countries, including Russia's neighbors, are continuing the arms race. Moreover it is quite obvious that several dozen states would not be averse to having their own weapons of mass destruction as soon as possible. According to estimates made by Western experts, before the end of the century about 60 states will be added to those possessing means of mass destruction. A dozen- and-a-half states could realistically become members of the nuclear club.

One returns involuntarily in one's thoughts to B. Yeltsin's initiative on creating a defensive alliance with the United States... Although the idea is entirely paradoxical, it does make far reaching sense.

Europe has been concerned about its security for a long time. Defense problems for this multinational continent are now acquiring a quite new resonance. Here, they believe, quite reasonably, that a potential aggressor still threatens the civilized countries. He has merely changed his address. This was the subject of last week's conference of military experts and politicians from the NATO bloc in the Bavarian capital. They were working on the creation of new defensive structures.

But what about us? What would we like to see as a good guarantee of our own long term security?

Imagine that in countries contiguous, and not contiguous, with the Commonwealth of Independent States, their own Zhirinovskis emerge who want in 24 hours to convert us to another faith or impose on us their own understanding of happiness, their own political system. Or simply order a preemptive nuclear, chemical, or bacteriological strike.

Citizens, perhaps even with the sausage famine we can throw a kopek or two into defense? Perhaps we can moderate our attack on the Army and help the poor thing to be better and adequate so that we can sleep soundly tomorrow? And at rates so that by the end of the century we will avoid not even being good enough to be taken prisoner because we have no sabers or muskets to surrender to the victors.

Military Expert Assesses Yeltsin's Proposals

AU1902115592 Budapest *NEPSZABADSAG*
in Hungarian 14 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with Andrey Kokoshin, deputy director of the Russian Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute, by Laszlo M. Lengyel in Moscow; date not given: "Yeltsin Wants a Radical Nuclear Disarmament"]

[Text] Professor Andrey Kokoshin is an expert equally in Soviet (Russian)-U.S. relations, the issues of armament and disarmament, and security policy. Our Moscow correspondent asked him to assess Yeltsin's latest disarmament proposals.

[Lengyel] What kind of scientific commendation would you make of Yeltsin's disarmament plan?

[Kokoshin] I know it from reliable sources that President Yeltsin has definite intentions to take radical steps in the reduction of nuclear arms. Both for military policy and economic considerations, he wants to greatly reduce the military expenses of Russia and the other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS].

[Lengyel] Is this how the other side sees this?

[Kokoshin] There have been certain differences in the views of Russia and the United States, but these can be bridged. There is a difference of opinion on the role of nuclear weapons. A considerable section of the leadership and political elite of the United States continues to attribute a greater importance to nuclear weapons. There is a strong view that the United States should remain the world's only superpower as regards nuclear power, too. There are strong intentions not to reduce the U.S. Forces to less than between 4,000 and 4,500 warheads under any circumstances. The aim is to maintain a considerable, ten to twelvefold, difference between the U.S. power and the second line of nuclear powers that also existed before the collapse of the Soviet Union. Structural differences are also important. Our nuclear strategic forces are mainly land based, while the Americans are sea based and airborne. Therefore, a compromise is possible up to the threshold of 4,500. This is when the new question will arise. As the English proverb says, "We will cross that bridge when we come to it."

[Lengyel] Nevertheless, the West must not have liked the—let me say, ill-considered—reasoning that they had to help Russia so as not to leave the 30,000 warheads to their own fate. The disarmament proposals may improve the bitter feelings left by this but they may indeed weaken Russia's bargaining position.

[Kokoshin] You mean that we can exert pressure on the West? The large number of nuclear weapons mainly causes problems for us, namely Russia and the other former Soviet republics. There are also some signs that, to some extent, the possession of nuclear weapons is starting to play a political role in some of the newly independent countries. This role is only marginal, but

certain leaders are starting to use the existence of nuclear arms as a political trump card. Nevertheless, all in all, the population of these countries will sigh with relief when no more nuclear arms are on their territory.

[Lengyel] However, it cannot be denied that the bipolar world and its security system have disintegrated. How does this affect the future of disarmament?

[Kokoshin] The system of the world's power fields [eroter] and power centers has been radically changed. At the same time, few people have noticed that the role of nuclear arms has fundamentally changed. From the tools of largely political opposition of the two poles, to a certain extent, these weapons have become the tools of political force that influence the relations of friends and allies. This is taking place equally in the East and in the West. We can partly observe this in the CIS and, partially, within NATO.

French nuclear arms have always played a special political role because they compensated for France's economic weaknesses. Today, the role of French nuclear arms as deterrents of Eastern aggression have been further reduced. However, they are part of the French arsenal and their future is an important issue. The French leadership is launching research balloons to assess the chances of the new nuclear doctrine of the new Europe and, at the same time, to find out to what extent the French nuclear striking power can be an integrating factor for France in the new Europe and to what extent Europe can be tied to the French nuclear forces.

[Lengyel] From Russia's point of view, is the intention the same, namely to sell the former property for political gains while a good price can be received for it?

[Kokoshin] I would use the term property very conditionally. This is much more of a burden than richness. It is an economic and political-psychological burden—and an enormous responsibility on Yeltsin's shoulders. The president is bearing this responsibility with dignity. The nuclear system is an extremely complicated and gigantic mechanism that has to be dismantled gradually, but in large chunks. For foreign and domestic political reasons, the United States will not find it easy to maintain its role as the only superpower, either. I am considering the difficult economic situation and the fact that the United States is behind Japan and the united Europe according to a number of economic indicators.

[Lengyel] Yeltsin's parcel of proposals is not homogeneous. Not aiming rockets at U.S. cities and eliminating equipment have a different importance in practice. What is at the core of the proposals?

[Kokoshin] Naturally, the changing of targets also has actual political and military content. It is true that he is not talking about "retargeting," but about redirecting. The program on flying tasks will be removed. Although this is very hard to supervise, our relations are at a level where it is not always necessary to do that. When we

were opposed to each other, only the controllable measures made any sense. Today, this means a different degree of combat-readiness of the rocket. It would be a more radical solution if, as certain experts suggest, the rockets were taken out of their silos and launching pads both on land and in submarines, equally on both sides. It would be possible not to leave a single rocket in its place, but central storage of, let us say, 80 percent of them is more realistic. We have submitted the proposal but it still has to be discussed with the U.S. side. However, now the most solid proposal is the dismantling of certain parts of the rockets and the elimination of the explosive matter [robbanotollet]. Previously, the agreements were made on carriers and the fuel was "put aside." The fact that the elimination of strategic nuclear equipment emerged is a great step forward and the Russian side is insisting on this.

'Crisis Point' of Soviet Scientists Reached

PM1902165592 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 2000 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Report by O. Vlasenko—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Vlasenko] The ballyhoo and emotional distress surrounding our nuclear physicists appear to be abating. Something may even be done now to help them. After all, there are not that many of them, only some 3,000.

Baker's lightning tour of our country, which included visits to a number of secret installations, ended with a hope-inspiring joint Russian-U.S.-German initiative. The fund in aid of nuclear physicists means that they will not be out of work, but will be able to apply their creative potential successfully.

The question is this: Is there no brain drain and know-how drain from our country's other spheres of knowledge? Are computer programmers, mathematicians, chemists, and biologists in a better position perhaps? Is it really necessary to wait for other initiatives from the West? Soviet scientists are welcomed abroad with open arms. Naturally, only talented scientists. It is no wonder though, because who would not like to have a trained specialist without having to spend money on his training? Is it not to our disadvantage to lose our intellectual potential, which is a priceless asset for any nation? Very recently a new component appeared in the structure of the U.S. Administration—a committee for problems connected with the utilization of Soviet scientists. Is it not time also for the Russian Government to give some serious thought to this problem? The situation prevailing in science has reached crisis point. It is above all our task to help our scientists, rather than just paying lipservice to this task. And it is necessary to address this task as a matter of urgency, because it will take decades and unspecified sums of money to replace these losses.

Report on 115 Civilian Nuclear Blasts Issued

PM1402145692 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 13 Feb 92 p A11

[Anna-Maria Hagerfors report, incorporating undated Moscow interview with Russian Deputy Minister for Nuclear Energy and Industry Viktor Mikhailov: "115 Civilian Nuclear Charges Detonated"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Moscow—The Soviet Union detonated 115 nuclear charges for civilian purposes throughout its territory in the years leading up to 1988. The Russians claim that the United States also carried out around 40 nuclear detonations for "general purposes." In the Soviet Union the purpose of the explosions was to extract oil, create artificial lakes, prospect for minerals, and bury nuclear waste.

The site of the explosion closest to Sweden is Apatit on the Kola Peninsula. It is around 400 km from the Swedish border and around 150 km from the Finnish border. Now CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] generals are planning new nuclear explosions to bury the Soviet Union's chemical weapons and nuclear arms.

In Kazakhstan alone over 30 nuclear charges were detonated "for national economic purposes," in addition to the regular military nuclear tests which have been going on for 40 years around the city of Semipalatinsk.

In the seventies child mortality began to rise steeply in Kazakhstan, even in places far from the military testing area.

Researchers discovered that people had been poisoned by thallium, which had been used in the underground nuclear tests. The Otrar region in southern Kazakhstan is so polluted by radioactivity that the parliament is now planning emergency aid to those affected.

Russia has set aside 5 billion rubles this year to combat radioactive pollution.

"We have exploded charges to put out oil field fires or to increase oil pressure in boreholes, to create artificial lakes, search for rare minerals, and to create a final place to store nuclear and toxic waste," General Fedor Safonov told DAGENS NYHETER in Alma-Ata.

"For example, we exploded charges in Donetsk north of the Crimea in the Ukraine because methane gas had begun to build up in mine shafts. We exploded charges in the Pechora river in Arkhangelsk to unite it with another river."

The distance from Pechora to Stockholm is the same as the distance from Kiruna to Stockholm.

Scientist Nikolay Prichodko in Moscow is an expert on underground hydrodynamics. He said that nuclear explosions have been carried out to create huge artificial salt caves where compressed gas is stored.

"We have also used nuclear charges to plug the gas fountains which sometimes occur when we extract natural gas," Prichodko said.

Viktor Mikhailov, Russia's deputy minister for atomic energy and industry and himself a nuclear scientist, said that he is currently compiling a map of the 115 civilian nuclear explosions.

"The map has red dots from the Kola Peninsula to the River Lena in eastern Siberia. It is in my office."

[Hagerfors] May we see it?

[Mikhailov] No. It is gruesome, and we do not even know whether we dare publish it in the Soviet Union. Here the situation is so tense that the map would just be more fuel for the fire. There are people who could make use of it to make trouble.

You have to understand that I only took up this post in 1989, after the explosions had taken place.

Now I am here and have to dig up the whole garbage heap.

[Hagerfors] If we may not see the map, can you give us guarantees that you did not carry out explosions in the region of the Baltic Sea? It is only 300 km from Sweden.

[Mikhailov] Yes. The site closest to your country is Apatit on the Kola Peninsula. We exploded charges there to extract the mineral, apatite.

We developed sophisticated methods of using nuclear charges in situations where nothing else worked, at oil well fires, for example. So there were occasions when our efforts were effective.

[Hagerfors] Does this mean that many other explosions were completely unnecessary?

[Mikhailov] Of course.

But there is no danger of radiation either in Scandinavia or on our territory.

[Hagerfors] But you did carry out the military nuclear tests in a way that was slipshod, to say the least. When geologists recently looked at the Semipalatinsk region they found that the ground is unstable. One earthquake has already occurred in the region. An underground coal stratum has been burning for the last five years. When that coal has turned to ash the earth's crust could collapse on top of 40 years of accumulated radioactivity. And you say that there is no danger of radiation?

[Mikhailov] We have checked the geological conditions very carefully, and the coal field is outside.

[Hagerfors] But the coal was ignited by the nuclear tests, and one earthquake can be followed by more.

[Mikhailov] We lag the boreholes.

[Hagerfors] You lag them with silicate. The geologists who were up in Semipalatinsk thought that this was totally inadequate.

[Mikhailov] There are other geologists who say that on the contrary nuclear explosions reduce earth tensions, so that the region becomes stabler.

No, there is another factor which worries me even more. Down in the boreholes under the earth we have stored up masses of radioactivity. What are we to do with it?

[Hagerfors] And what is happening to the groundwater?

[Mikhailov] That is the next factor that worries me. It is the water which spreads the radiation. The water goes through its cycle and falls as rain, again and again. [Mikhailov ends]

"It is my burdensome legacy and that of other researchers to try to keep all this under control," Viktor Mikhailov sighed, consoling himself with the thought that the Americans have the same problems in Nevada. Also, they have detonated around 40 nuclear charges for civilian purposes, according to Mikhailov.

[Hagerfors] And now you are thinking of detonating new nuclear charges to destroy your nuclear and chemical arms. Is there no other way?

[Mikhailov] We are also looking at other methods. But using the power of the atom is cheap and destruction takes place instantaneously.

Although it goes without saying that cracks are always being formed in the earth's surface and then there is a danger that the radiation will spread.

[Hagerfors] You intend to destroy the power of the atom by using the power of the atom. Is that not an idiotically evil circle?

[Mikhailov] No, no. When we use the power of the atom for an explosion, rocks melt and secure spaces are created for arms and waste. So the idea is right. The capsule will be protected for all eternity.

Pushing Genie Back Into Bottle 'Complicated'

924P0071B Moscow SOBESEDNIK in Russian
No 5, Jan 92 p 6

[Article by Aleksandr Yemelyanenko: "To Novaya Zemlya: SOBESEDNIK's Ecological Press Marathon"]

[Text] Problems are pressing in on us from all sides. The struggle for the survival of the individual, who since the dawn of history has known no law except the "law of the jungle," when the strongest is always right, has at the end of the second millennium of the new history grown into global confrontation between man and the technology he has created, and the environment. And among the many threats in our rapidly changing world, the greatest urgency attaches to those associated with the development and improvement of nuclear weapons and the

radiation and medical and biological consequences of the use of the atom for "military" and "peaceful" purposes.

During the 45 years since that day of 16 July 1945 when in the Alamogordo desert the United States tested the first atomic bomb, more than 1,830 nuclear and thermonuclear explosions have taken place in the earth's atmosphere and underground and under water. Essentially, every 10 days there has been a new explosion urging on the arms race and bringing slow death to every living thing...

The closure of the Semipalatinsk proving site and the one year moratorium on nuclear testing unilaterally announced by the president of Russia gives the world a chance that the senseless rivalry between the nuclear powers will finally be halted and that a reverse process will start—nuclear disarmament and conversion of the test sites. It would be possible to direct their powerful scientific and technical potential and the funds that are freed up into medical and social rehabilitation of a population affected by the radiation, cleaning up territory that has been contaminated with radioactivity, and solving other urgent tasks. Strictly speaking, today this is the patriotic and professional duty of nuclear scientists and those who developed and tested nuclear weapons. And conversion does not mean a loss of their skills: the safe operation of nuclear power engineering facilities, and the total rehabilitation of stricken people and territories are not simple tasks. It is much more complicated to push the nuclear genie back into his bottle than it was to let him out.

This problem must be resolved at the interparliamentary level and at the level of the governments of the independent states of the Commonwealth, but we also want to place it under independent public control—with your help, of course, dear reader. Starting with the issue that you now hold in your hands, the SOBESEDNIK ecological press marathon "To Novaya Zemlya" is starting. It was under this symbolic motto that numerous environmental groups in the northwest oblasts of Russia joined last year in the broad popular movement known as "To a New Earth." Our common and immediate goal is to insure that the one-year moratorium announced by President Yeltsin stands, and that Russia's example will be followed by other nuclear powers.

The call—"To a New Earth"—should not be taken to mean that we intend to move to the Arctic archipelago and heroically take the boundaries of the proving ground and its secret facilities by storm from sea and air. Let any such suspicions be dissipated. We are not waging war against those who are obeying their orders and carrying out their military duty on Novaya Zemlya. On the contrary, we have an attitude of the greatest respect for their service in the extreme conditions of the Arctic, and we value everything that has been built by their intellect and by their hands. We believe that the labor of these people should also be given its proper due in the future,

and that the entire social infrastructure of the archipelago should be developed on a priority and intensive basis regardless of plans for the further use of Novaya Zemlya. In exchange we want just one thing—to be correctly understood.

"For a New Earth" means a renewed planet on which it is safe to live, a new world order based on the principle of good-neighborliness and cooperation, and the exclusion of force and the military threat as an argument in politics.

The road to NEW EARTH is not an easy one, and along it there are more ice hummocks than there are in the Arctic. But we must go along it. We invite those who are persistent, those who are not indifferent, to come along that road. Tel. 285-37-11.

P.S. The headquarters of the "To a New Earth" movement can be contacted at the following address: 163061, Arkhangelsk, Prospekt P. Vinogradov, 29; telephone—9-61-34. Introductory contributions from individual or collective members of the movement, and also voluntary donations, are being accepted in account number 100609924 at the Pomorskiy Commercial Bank, Arkhangelsk city, Financial Department 103015. The charter and program documents of the movements will be sent C.O.D. on application to the headquarters.

U.S. Test Inspection Held in Leningrad

PM1802111592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 15 Feb 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Test Inspection Held"]

[Text] Representatives of the United States conducted a test inspection of ground forces and air force establishments 10 through 14 February on the territory of the Leningrad Military District. The aims of the inspection, held within the framework of the measures which are being implemented by the states which signed the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe in connection with preparation for its implementation, have been achieved.

In the sides' opinion, the experience which has been acquired will promote the treaty's effective fulfillment.

Novaya Zemlya Nuclear Waste Dumps Listed

924P0071A Moscow SOBESEDNIK in Russian
No 5, Jan 92 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Secret Sailing Directions, or, Second Discovery of the Archipelago"]

[Text] Since the nuclear proving ground was created on Novaya Zemlya and the first nuclear-powered ships appeared in Arctic waters with navigational charts of this region of the Arctic, the traditional names have started

to disappear—Chernaya Bay, Cape Sukhoy Nos, Abrosimov Bay, and so forth. They have been replaced by faceless names like "Zone A," "Region No. 1," "Area D," "Gallery A-31"...

Without claiming completeness and academic exposition, we are risking giving the secret sailing directions for the archipelago. Perhaps it will prove useful to fishermen and mariners....

[Article accompanied by a map of Novaya Zemlya, on which numbers corresponding to the following are placed.]

Regions in Which Solid Radioactive Waste Is Dumped

1. The Novaya Zemlya Deep: A total of 1,450 containers, a barge with a damaged nuclear reactor (170,000 curies), a lighter containing liquid radioactive waste.
2. Neupokoyev Bay: Solid radioactive waste with a total activity of 3,400 curies.
3. Tsvolki Bay: A total of 4,750 containers, the lighter N. Bauman, the central section of the icebreaker Lenin with three damaged reactors and shielding assembly.
4. Oga Bay: 850 containers.
5. Stepovoy Bay: A total of 1,850 containers and a damaged nuclear submarine—two reactors with their nuclear fuel.
6. Abrosimov Bay: A total of 550 containers and sections from four damaged nuclear submarines (a total of eight reactors of which three still contain their nuclear fuel).
7. Blagopoluchiye Bay: A total of 650 containers with radioactive waste.
8. Techeniya Bay: A damaged reactor (without nuclear fuel). Total activity—1,856 curies.
9. A region of the open sea: 400 containers.
10. A region of the open sea: 250 containers.

Sites Where Nuclear Tests Were Conducted

11. The area of Cape Sukhoy Nos: Site of the most powerful nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere. A restricted zone.
12. The area of Matochkin Shar Strait: Site of the last nuclear tests on Novaya Zemlya (in the galleries). A restricted zone.
13. The region of Chernaya Bay: Site of the first underwater and above-ground tests and the first underground (in bore holes) nuclear tests on Novaya Zemlya. Place where the experimental vessel Kit foundered; assumed burial site for the nuclear submarine Komsomolets (in the event she is lifted). A restricted zone.
14. Assumed region of the site for a regional radioactive waste burial site.
15. The southwest sector of the south island of the archipelago: Assumed region for the development of the long-term program of nuclear testing on Novaya Zemlya.

Warsaw Pact Plan for Weapon Use Revealed

924P0079A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Yevgeniy Bovkun: "The Danger From the East: What Was It?"]

[Text] Bonn—Studying archives from the GDR National People's Army that have come into their hands, experts in the Defense Ministry in Bonn have learned what kind of danger the population of the FRG would have faced in the event of armed conflict with the Warsaw Pact.

Even before this the nature of the weapons and the military doctrine, and also the location of troops of the USSR and its allies were known thanks to data from Western intelligence. Notwithstanding, the documents that the FRG defense minister, G. Stoltenberg, made public recently have produced a strong impression.

At the start of military actions between East and West, regardless of who first decided to test the enemy's defense, the Warsaw Pact would have poured the fire of 76 nuclear strikes on Schleswig-Holstein alone. The other lands in Germany would have been subjected to destructive bombardment and missile fire using nuclear warheads, first and foremost Lower Saxony, and also the northern regions of Hessen and Bavaria.

The Warsaw Pact leaders planned to use nuclear weapons at the earliest possible stage of the conflict, right at the start of the war. The groups of forces deployed along the forward positions were to have had more than 840 tactical nuclear weapons.

How much effort official Soviet propaganda made at that time to try to prove to the world public that no danger of any kind from the East threatened people in the West. It has now become clear that it was much more real, even in the years of perestroika. However, let us be fair: They were not playing with toy weapons in NATO headquarters either.

Verification of Force Limitation Discussed

LD2102050292 Moscow TASS in English
1729 GMT 20 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna February 20 TASS—Verification of a future agreement on troops limitation in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals was discussed on Thursday [20 February] at a plenary meeting of the Vienna Talks on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

The participants in the forum say that verification problem must be based on practicability, that verification should not be burdened by too large administrative and financial expenditures. At the same time, there must be confidence that set levels of restrictions are observed by all countries.

The use of inspections envisaged under the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe would suit these criteria, it was said at the meeting. Without enlarging teams of inspectors and prolonging the inspections' duration, local inspections of armed forces could also evaluate troops' numerical strength.

A number of delegations stated their views about the ways of perfecting inspections verifying the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

Vladimir Shustov, head of the Russian delegation, told ITAR-TASS that it is better to seek a simpler agreement that would be easier to implement.

"Our purpose is to conclude an agreement on additional measures aimed at further ensurance of stability and security in Europe, including measures for troops reduction. The main thing is to supplement restrictions on conventional arms and equipment stipulated by the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe with corresponding restrictions on numerical strength of troops. The military potential of a state is judged now not so much by the total number of armed troops, as by the numerical strength of the personnel connected with the main systems of armaments", Shustov said.

Reaction to Submarine Collision Continues

U.S. Submarine 'Browsing'

PM2102111392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Artur Blinov and Nikolay Burbyga: "Underwater Incident in the Kola Gulf"]

[Text] A U.S. Defense Ministry representative has officially confirmed that a Russian and an American submarine collided in the Barents Sea. However, the Americans are of the opinion that the incident occurred outside Russia's territorial waters.

According to the Pentagon representative's statement, the American Los Angeles Class submarine Baton Rouge was on a patrol voyage when it ran across the surfacing Russian Sierra Class submarine (as it is known in NATO terminology). The American submarine did not incur any damage. It should return to its base in Norfolk next week.

What was the American submarine doing at the entry to the gulf? Official Pentagon representatives told journalists that the Baton Rouge, which is classified as a type of attack submarine (that is, those intended for combat with submarines), was gathering information on the Russian Navy. One of the American military stated that the said region is often prone to dense cloud and fog, which makes it difficult for satellites to gather intelligence information.

As THE WASHINGTON POST writes, American and Russian submarines have been playing a "cat and mouse" game in this region for a long time already. The "Cold War" may be behind us, but the Russian Navy continues to use the fleet of missile and attack submarines, a Pentagon representative told our newspaper correspondent.

We publicized the Pentagon version. In order to hear the other side, we approached the Navy Main Staff. However, they refused to comment on the incident, justifying themselves by saying that "all the details of the event have yet to emerge." Nevertheless, a high-ranking Navy officer who asked to remain anonymous expressed his viewpoint:

"According to former USSR laws, the incident took place in our country's territorial waters. The Americans claim they are neutral waters. But this is not what worries us most. At a time when we are removing missiles from combat alert and reducing our naval activity, an American submarine is 'browsing' in the Kola Gulf. And what is more: I am convinced that the incident arose through the incoherent actions of the American submarine commander. Our submarine incurred slight damage to the conning tower, where pieces of plating from the American submarine were found. There are also traces of a collision on the hull. The submarine is now back at base, where minor repairs

will be carried out and a thorough investigation of the circumstances surrounding the collision will take place."

Details of Incident

PM2102085892 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Nikolay Burbyga and Viktor Litovkin: "Americans Not Only Helping Us, But Spying on Us. Details of Submarine Collision in Barents Sea"]

[Text] As has been reported already in IZVESTIYA (No. 42), a Russian and a U.S. submarine have collided in the Barents Sea. According to information from the Navy Press Center, the incident occurred at 2016 naval time on 11 February.

The collision took place in Russian territorial waters, because, under the law "On the USSR State Border," on the approach to the Kola Gulf, territorial waters begin between Cape Tsypnavolok and Kildin Island. The outer border of territorial waters lies 12 miles out from this line. The collision occurred 4.7 miles or 8.5 km inside our territorial waters.

The sailors learned that they had hit a U.S. boat later, when they analyzed the maneuver and studied the nature of the damage and the objects left on the conning tower by the "interloper."

IZVESTIYA correspondents recently have visited the Northern Fleet and the bay where the Soviet boat is moored. Its conning tower contained quite substantial bits of the U.S. submarine's skin—ceramics, plastics, and other components.

How could this have happened, anyway? The U.S. boat was trying to track ours, using the noise made by trawlers operating in the area as cover. Our submarine commander identified suspicious noises. In order to be certain and to check his hunch, he started maneuvering before surfacing. During this period, the U.S. submarine commander was lost sight of. The decision was made to take the boat up to periscope depth. Both submarines were in a so-called hydro-acoustic shadow. Neither could see or hear the other. Having completed the maneuver and feeling certain that there was nobody else around, the commander gave the order to surface, which, by all calculations, should have been a safe operation. The conning tower struck the other submarine from below. The impact was severe, since the submarine was even stove-in [prosela].

Having dived and left the danger zone, our submarine soon surfaced. The commander immediately contacted captains of nearby ships. They replied that they had not collided with anyone and had not heard about any incident. Help was not needed. The Americans took the shortest route back to base, leaving our territorial waters.

Our submarine remained combat capable, military experts believe, because it is made of titanium—unlike the U.S. submarine, which is made of steel and other

components. In their view, it is unlikely that the U.S. boat will be able to put to sea again in the near future...

We asked Admiral Konstantin Makarov, chief of the Navy Main Staff, to comment on the Barents Sea incident.

"I do not understand," he said, "why the U.S. submarine was on combat patrol in the Northern Fleet's weapons range and was violating our territorial waters. I do not believe that this is in line with the agreements between the Russian and U.S. presidents. It is hard to believe or imagine that such actions have any connection with U.S. security."

Our Information

The Soviet multirole Sierra II submarine displaces 8,200 tonnes. It is 110 meters long, 12 meters high from the top of the conning tower, and has a hull diameter of 8.8 meters. It has two nuclear reactors, with turbines generating 40,000 horsepower. There is a single propeller. Its speed is 30 knots. The complement is around 100. It is armed with antisubmarine and antiship missiles, torpedoes, and mines, including nuclear-armed versions.

The U.S. attack submarine Baton Rouge is a Los Angeles class boat. Its displacement is 6,000 tonnes. It is 110 meters long, 10 meters high to the top of the conning tower, and has a hull diameter of 9.9 meters. It has a single nuclear reactor and two turbines generating 35,000 horsepower. It has a single propeller. Its speed is 30 knots. Its complement is 127 men, 12 of them officers. It is armed with Harpoon antisubmarine missiles, Tomahawk nuclear-tipped cruise missiles with a range of 2,500 km, torpedoes, and mines.

Conference Lays 'Foundations for New Relations'

Attracted 'Heightened Attention'

PM1802160592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Aleksey Portanskiy: "The Muslim Republics of the Former Union Are Changing the Geopolitics of the East"]

[Text] The latest conference of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) was held over two days—Sunday and Monday, 16 and 17 February—in Tehran, with delegations from the six Muslim republics of the former USSR participating for the first time.

The ECO was set up in 1985 by Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey, and Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan became members in February this year. Representatives of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Tajikistan, which could also become full members of the organization, went to the Iranian capital as observers.

At the opening session Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani suggested that the ECO might be turned into a "bridge between North and South."

The debate centered on questions of common tariffs and taxes on trade and others.

The forum in the Iranian capital attracted heightened attention, of course, not only because of the doubling and even trebling of the number of participants compared with the recent past. What we have is a significant geopolitical and economic regrouping in the vast area of the Asian continent with a population of around one-fourth of a billion people.

There is another feature of the Tehran meeting that must be remarked on and has already prompted a number of commentaries.

Whereas until recently what we saw was contacts between Iran and the former Soviet Muslim republics, on the one hand, and between Turkey and the same republics, on the other hand, they are now all gathered together, and neither Tehran nor Ankara officially pretends that they are competing with one another for influence over their Muslim neighbors in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. "Between Iran and Ankara there is more cooperation than rivalry in this sphere," Iranian diplomatic chief 'A. Velayati said in this connection. But almost at the same time as the minister was making his statement the local press was unanimously criticizing Turkey for "being a pawn in serving the interests of the United States" for the sake of "imposing a Western model" on the Central Asian republics, in order to force the latter to "shed their Islamic values."

According to statements by a number of participants, the conference in Tehran was exclusively economic. However, the paper the TEHRAN TIMES, which is close to the Iranian Government, pointed out that historical experience shows that broad economic cooperation is possible only if there are no political disagreements between the members of the particular organization. Obviously, the correlation between political differences and common economic interests within an Economic Cooperation Organization that is undergoing renewal could determine the future of both the organization and the whole of Central Asia.

Completed Work in Tehran 17 Feb

PM1902150192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Aleksey Portanskiy: "Tehran Conference Called 'Historic,' But Not Everyone Agrees With Free Market System"]

[Text] The conference of the Economic Cooperation Organization [ECO], which completed its work in Tehran 17 February, has laid the foundations for new relations in Asia, the majority of its participants believe.

It is, above all, the cardinal change in the composition of this organization that allows such a conclusion to be

drawn. Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan are now members in addition to Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan were admitted to the ECO Monday. Kazakhstan will have observer status for the time being.

The political section of the final declaration that was adopted speaks of support for "the peoples of Kashmir and Afghanistan" and of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The ECO, the document states, proposes the creation of a modern, efficient infrastructure of cooperation among the organization's member states.

To all appearances, the updated geographic framework of the ECO is not final. According to reports from Kabul, the Afghan Government has renewed its request for its country to be admitted to membership of this community. Turkish President Turgut Ozal advocated Mongolia's admission to the ECO in the future and also got the organization to consider the possibility of future cooperation with the Muslim community in Cyprus.

Afraid of losing out in economic rivalry with Turkey for influence over the Muslim republics of the former Union, Iran also acquitted itself well in the sphere of geopolitical initiatives. President Hashemi-Rafsanjani advanced the idea of forming in the future an "Organization of Caspian States," which would include Iran, Russia, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan. However, the Turkish president evaluated the creation of such an organization as an "overindulgence."

The leaders of Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey each individually called the Tehran conference historic, emphasizing here its exclusively economic nature. The most important issue for the ECO in the immediate future will be the economic development of its new members—the Muslim republics of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. President T. Ozal stated repeatedly during the conference that all these republics must definitively adopt the "free market system"—for which the Iranian press bombarded Turkey with accusations of imposing a Western system to the detriment of traditional Islamic culture.

To all appearances, Tehran is also using purely political steps to strengthen its positions in the Iranian-Turkish disagreements within the ECO, which have not been officially publicized. Speaking at a news conference in Tehran after his talks with the Iranian leaders, Azerbaijan President A. Mutalibov declared, according to AFP, that "Iran is the main intermediary" between his country and Armenia in the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, emphasizing that Iranian mediation is better than that of others.

Central Asia 'Tasty Morsel' for Fundamentalists
PM2002133792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by Nikolay Paklin: "India Fears a Victory for Islamic Radicals. Pakistan's Special Interest in Central Asia"]

[Text] An Indian diplomat, who wished to remain anonymous, claims that the Central Asian states—former Soviet republics—intend to gain access to the sea. Pakistan is offering them the use of its ports on the shore of the Arabian Sea, which never freezes.

In many ways, this offer is ideal for the Central Asian states. Talks are already under way on a direct railroad link between Uzbekistan and the major Pakistani port of Karachi. It is proposed that part of the line from the Uzbek border will go through mujahidin-controlled Afghan territory. New highways would be constructed to the Pakistani ports of Gwadar, Pasni, and others, whose quays are also being made available to Central Asian states.

According to the diplomat, the "tying down" of the Central Asian states' export and import freight will make them dependent on Pakistan, which will be able to control a significant part of their foreign trade.

The Indian diplomat notes that Pakistan is showing "special interest" in Central Asia. It was one of the first to recognize all the independent Central Asian states. A Pakistani delegation, headed by Minister of State for Economic Affairs Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali, visited five Central Asian states. In Alma-Ata they talked about granting Kazakhstan commercial credit worth \$200-300 million. The Kazakh leaders asked Islamabad to supply them, in particular, with medicines worth \$150 million. An accord was reached in Tashkent on supplies of electricity to Pakistan, while the Pakistani delegation promised Uzbekistan credit of \$30 million to purchase Pakistani industrial products. Pakistan, as well as some other countries in the region, would welcome the former Soviet Central Asian republics' membership of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Indian political circles believe that Islamabad's ultimate aim is the creation of an Islamic federation comprising Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, part of Turkey, and the Central Asian states, which would be anti-Indian.

India is concerned about the "special relationship" that is developing between Pakistan and the Central Asian states. According to the Indian diplomat, religion is the key which Pakistan and the other Muslim states intend to use to open the gates of Central Asia, which were locked until recently.

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif recently called for a "resurrection of the old religious relationship" between his country and the Central Asian states. Some other Muslim states have a hand in the spread of Islam in Central Asia. Above all, Iran and Saudi Arabia.

The Indian diplomat believes that the intensification of Islamic influence in Central Asia would create "unfavorable external conditions" for India. The Kashmir valley, whose population is predominantly Muslim, is a particularly sensitive area. Armed groupings are waging an undeclared war in Kashmir for the separation of Kashmir from India. Pakistan and other Muslim states

are actively helping them. Hitherto, Afghanistan and the Soviet Central Asian republics have been the counterweight to the fundamentalists. The offensive by bellicose Islam threatens to turn them into fundamentalist Islamic states. "The Central Asian states are a tasty morsel for the Islamic fundamentalists," the Indian diplomat said. "They will do everything possible to achieve their ends. It should not be forgotten that Central Asia could easily turn into the Islamic fundamentalists' outpost on the border between the Russian Federation and China, where there are Muslims living in concentrated groups."

India is seeking to counter Pakistan's foothold in Central Asia by establishing good neighborly relations with the Central Asian states. The first trade agreement it signed with a Commonwealth state was with Uzbekistan. A delegation of Indian experts has just visited other Central Asian states. India is establishing trade and economic links with Azerbaijan. An exhibition to sell Indian goods will open soon in Baku.

However, the Indian diplomat is of the opinion that India is showing little resolve in that area and it has little chance of success. The religious factor is working against secular India.

Black Sea Zone Resurrects 'Union of Pontus'

PM1802152192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 6 Feb 92 First Edition p 7

[Yuriy Kashin "Commentary": "To Turkey Without A Visa"]

[Text] The desire to develop subregional cooperation along avenues and in spheres of real mutual interest is becoming more and more noticeable. An example of this is the emergent new structure covering Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Georgia in the Black Sea region. Representatives of these countries have just initialed in Istanbul a declaration on Black Sea economic cooperation. Currently in the hands of experts, the ultimate version of the final document—which will be the basis for multilateral partnership and agreement—will be submitted for ratification by the nine heads of government this summer.

The idea of setting up an economic cooperation zone in the region, put forward in early 1990 by Turkish President Turgut Ozal, won immediate approval in principle from the leadership of the Black Sea states. Admittedly, there were fewer of them at the time. Now nine independent countries have expressed support for the project, which bespeaks its promise and future strength. The fact that Georgia is striving to become a member of the new grouping is noteworthy to a certain extent.

The Black Sea association, resurrecting the ancient Union of Pontus, will clearly become the first fruitful regional diplomatic initiative in Southeast Europe in the postcommunist period. Its main concern will be to guarantee stability in the Black Sea area. Although we are

talking about economic cooperation, political cooperation should not be discounted. The growing number of independent partners in cooperation on the shores of the Black Sea and the lack of agreement between some of them does not rule out but rather produces opportunities to smooth over the contradictions between them.

In particular, it is not ruled out that Turkey might offer to mediate between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. But the main aim of a Black Sea treaty will be to change the model of relations which has developed over the decades and to open up the region to international trade and investment. The initialed document stresses that the creation of a single economic area will promote the transformation of the Black Sea region into a zone of peace, stability, and prosperity in the spirit of the CSCE process and the generally accepted principles of international law.

The joint declaration identifies spheres of intergovernmental contacts and the conditions for developing businesslike ties between enterprises, organizations, and entrepreneurs. It is planned to implement a number of tempting projects—above all, in the sphere of environmental protection and transportation.

And there is good news for Russian entrepreneurs. The new "Pontic" union plans to simplify the procedures for businessmen to enter, stay in, and move freely around the Black Sea zone without let or hindrance, to encourage the development of direct ties, and to provide support to small and medium businesses, which have propelled Turkey's powerful surge forward.

Western Humanitarian Aid Termed 'Spoon Feeding'

PM1402111792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Feb 92 pp 1, 4

[Article by political observer Anatoliy Karpychev: "Spoon feeding" Future Allies"]

[Text] Yesterday giant transport aircraft took off from the Air Force's chief Rhine base with humanitarian aid freight and set course for Moscow and other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] cities. This is an American action, it was announced at the recent international conference in Washington which discussed problems of aid for the CIS and it is called "Provide Hope." The aircraft were seen off from the Rhine base by minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Secretary of State James Baker, who had arrived for a special visit to the airmen. From there the secretary of state then set off in the same direction as some of the aircraft carrying medical supplies and food—to Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.

Both the experienced politician Baker and the U.S. pilots flying over CIS territory have every grounds for marveling yet again at the changes in the sky since the end of the "cold war." Surely they and indeed we could not think that armadas of NATO aircraft would fly the air routes over the former Soviet Union to 29 cities and that

a Pentagon general would direct the flow of aid not from just anywhere but from Moscow. Naturally I ask: But surely we could have shipped the freight using our own aircraft. It seems to me we could have done. But the Americans burning with the desire to "provide hope" for the CIS peoples have their own logic and it comes down to the fact that some of the freight consists of military rations left over from the "Desert Storm" operation in the Persian Gulf and therefore the participation of the military is essential.

This logic can quite well have a place, nonetheless there should be moderation for everything everywhere, even in big politics. After decades behind the "iron curtain" we have opened ourselves up so much to the world that gradually, with the authorities' approval, we are running the risk of being turned into a mere passageway. That should not be done. In the West doors are opened when possible and closed if an onlooking eye is undesirable. I am more than convinced that our military transport aircraft would not have been allowed into its airspace by self-respecting states. But thank you for the aid.

It looks as though the military from the NATO countries, having lost an enemy in the shape of the USSR since the end of the "Cold War," are quite unable to part with that enemy. In addition to the Pentagon officers, officers from the EC countries have settled in Moscow and are engaged in distributing humanitarian aid. As they put it, they are using the "spoon feeding" tactic and that tactic is allegedly giving quite good results since there is less theft of humanitarian freight on its journey to old people, the sick, and children.

I also mentioned the officers from the EC countries because the expression "spoon feeding" seemed to me highly symbolic. Today it very precisely describes the tactic of the West and primarily the United States with regard to the new states that were former republics of the Soviet Union. You cannot call them adversaries nor rivals, they have not had time to become partners and allies, because it was only very recently that they entered the big world of big politics. And they are all very different. Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus have nuclear weapons and some have been relegated by the powerful to the ranks of the small and poor. In the opinion of the U.S. leaders what unites them is the fact that "the dawn of a new day is breaking" over all states of the Commonwealth.

U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle, who is touring Europe, recently expressed a desire to see this "dawn" for himself. He visited Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, taking with him a couple of aircraft with humanitarian aid as a present. Quayle is the highest ranking figure to have visited the Baltic countries, and that also says a lot...

Having dissolved the USSR in December last year, the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and other states gave the West a frankly royal gift. After all, Washington has long dreamed of the disintegration of the Union, it has been the aim of its foreign policy strategy since the forties, as

is borne out by the so-called "Truman doctrine." After World War II the United States assumed leadership of the world and in his 1946 Fulton speech, which gave the signal for the "Cold" war, Winston Churchill stated that World War II had not ended, that Europe still had to be liberated from Bolshevism.

Has it been liberated?

I do not think that since this the West has had fewer problems, but it has been fabulously lucky. The Western world obviously did not expect this "gift," it was unprepared for the new situation in which a dozen new interlocutors eager to enter big politics appeared in the world. The West has now been obliged to change the rules of the game as it goes along. Previously it knew very well what the Soviet Union was—whether under the old nomenklatura or under Gorbachev—but no one knows what the CIS is. Previously the West dealt with one nuclear superpower—now it is dealing with four nuclear states in which chaos and poverty walk side by side. All this creates additional difficulties, especially as our youthful democracies are initially playing without rules.

In December last year the United States officially recognized the independence of all 12 republics (not counting the Baltic republics) but it has established diplomatic relations and opened embassies only in six—Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia. The others have been told to wait because their behavior did not accord with the "five principles" established for the young democracies of Eastern Europe and the former USSR republics. They concerned respect for human rights, arms control, and the transition to a free market.

The CIS states are knocking on the doors of the United Nations, NATO, the EC, the IMF, and other international clubs. Recently 10 former USSR republics were accepted at once as members of the CSCE—an influential institution of collaboration in Europe. "Tell us what Europe is now?" one observer joked in this connection, having in mind the fact that Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and some of its neighbors admitted to the CSCE are not European countries. Does that mean that the Helsinki process could soon become the European-Asian process?

And many such questions are arising in connection with the appearance on the world arena of the CIS states anxious to pursue an independent policy. Among the Western partners there is no complete unity as to where to allow the newcomers and where not. One thing is clear—they must not leave them unsupervised and there must be elasticity in introducing them into their sphere of influence. Yet for the CIS states entry to the international clubs is obviously seen as a step forward, unflinchingly into a bright future. A step forward, yes, but where? To be frank, the road to prosperity does not begin at the doors of NATO or the IMF, it does not begin with its aid, it begins in our own home, in the former Union—the present Commonwealth where vital ties, traditions, and experience are still preserved with the desire to do a job.

No one will help the poor for nothing. That is axiomatic. With what pomp did Washington recently hold at home a conference on humanitarian aid to the CIS to which, incidentally, no one from the CIS was invited; how hospitably the Russian president was welcomed in Camp David... But so what? As before, nothing much, except for the cowboy boots which Bush gave Yeltsin and shipments of military rations. And we are not the only ones to be "spoonfed." Polish President Lech Walesa, in Strasbourg last week, was obliged to say bitterly: "We citizens of the poorest part of Europe form the impression that wealthy Europe is closing doors to us and is becoming an exclusive club for the rich and stable... It is the West which has profited from the Polish revolution. We were useful as an instrument to destroy the old system which threatened Europe. But have we lost your sympathy today? Today our population does not feel that it is living better. The fruit of victory have proved bitter."

Probably a situation also awaits us in which we will also lose sympathy. The West's tough pragmatism can be seen in all its steps with regard to the CIS states. Today Western politicians are extremely perturbed that Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan are displaying great interest in the Central Asian republics of the former Union. One aim of Secretary of State J. Baker's trip is to counter this influence in his own interests. Washington nows that Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan have become "items to be claimed" and Baker is trying to seek that they are oriented to the North and West and not the South and East. That obviously also explains the admission of the Asian states to some European clubs—it is easier to keep an eye on the behavior of the new partners inside their walls.

The West does not conceal the fact that, having destroyed communism and finally seen the collapse of the USSR, it has successfully fulfilled the first part of its mission which, it says, is not the hardest. The second part is allegedly harder—building a free market and the foundations of a capitalist society in the CIS.

Well, what part of what task have we fulfilled? In my opinion we have fulfilled only the first part, also not the hardest. But what next? Will we rely on "spoon feeding" or will we come to our senses?

Future of Soviet Union's UN Mission Pondered

*PM2002121992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5*

[Report by Aleksandr Shalnev: "Lights Dimmed in the Russian Mission"]

[Text] New York—On Tuesday 18 February, the UN Security Council tasked one of its specialized committees with examining Azerbaijan's application for membership of the United Nations. There should be no problems, and Azerbaijan will be the last of the former

Soviet Union republics to have expressed a wish to become a member of the United Nations and to have succeeded in this.

Georgia still prefers to stay on the sidelines: It has not yet applied to the United Nations.

Meanwhile, work is in full swing on one story of the building housing the permanent missions of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. The families of some mission officials have been moved out of this building—they were offered apartments in the main residential complex in our compound which, incidentally, bears the name "White House"—and the vacated premises are being refurbished as offices.

Soon the delegates from former Soviet republics which have already been accepted into the United Nations will be located there. The fact of moving somebody out and bringing somebody else in is not a problem. The problem lies elsewhere—who will pay the cost of maintaining the new permanent missions in New York, and with what? And how do the new sovereign states intend to cover the considerable costs stemming from the admission of these states into the United Nations, and the outlay required for contributions to the regular UN budget and the budgets of numerous peacemaking operations?

According to my information, staffers in the Russian mission have only just finished estimating the value of everything which was previously owned by the Soviet Mission, including country residences. The relevant calculations were sent to Moscow. Immediately, the question arises: Who was the owner when this property was acquired—the Soviet Union alone, or the Soviet Union in conjunction with Ukraine and Belarus? If it was acquired "jointly," then does this mean that Ukraine and Belarus can now claim one-third of these premises each, which, looking at the main mission building in Manhattan, amounts to eight out of the 12 stories?

Of course, much could be clarified by the deed of purchase drawn up in the very early 1960s, when this building was acquired. How many signatures are on it? Are there only two—the U.S. and Soviet sides—or four?

The Ukrainians say that they have seen no deed of purchase: The Russians note that the deed of purchase does exist and that it contains two signatures. Overall, I am beginning to get the impression that the tension developing in relations between Moscow and Kiev is gradually extending to relations between staffers from the Russian and Ukrainian missions, who are forced to share one and the same building.

Meanwhile the lights in the Russian mission are dimming. Literally. Electricians with stepladders are walking the floors and turning off every third fluorescent light. They are economizing.

I happened to hear that an estimated \$1,000 per month at least is being saved this way. It is said that further

measures are imminent to ensure that the Russian mission's catastrophically diminishing coffers stretch a little further.

I think that the situation in the New York mission is by no means the exception, but rather the rule for the overwhelming majority of our missions abroad. But it is little comfort to know that you are not alone. Furthermore, the black cloud of uncertainty hangs over our officials abroad: What will become of them next week, next month? Will they be sacked? Will they be kept on?

Of course, the snap answer could be: "Think for a minute about what is happening at home!" But they do not work at home...

I have to admit that I cannot quite understand why the former Soviet republics are in such a hurry to post their people abroad. Are they really so rich that they can afford not to entrust the security of their interests to those who are already there and whose experience—which quite frankly is so necessary in the initial stages—is far more solid and well-founded than that of the newcomers?

Not Enough Credit Resources To Fund Imports

PM1702150192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[INTERFAX interview published in the "IZVESTIYA-INTERFAX Commercial Review" section with Oleg Klimov, chairman of "Eksportkhleb"; place and date not given: "Grain Purchases Should Increase 50-100 Percent"]

[Text] The "Eksportkhleb" joint-stock company, the main trading agent for grain purchases for the needs of the former Soviet republics, plans to engage in the maximum level of grain purchases in February—4.5-5 million tonnes a month. This is the maximum amount which the country's ports are capable of handling, "Eksportkhleb" Chairman Oleg Klimov stated in an INTERFAX interview.

By late July "Eksportkhleb" plans to have imported 30-32 million tonnes of grain to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]—approximately 5 million tonnes more than in the same period last year. This, however, will only be possible if all the Western credits already promised to the Commonwealth countries start taking effect.

There are not enough credit resources to fund imports. In the previous months the CIS has received slightly more than half the amount of grain it needs—2.5-3 million tonnes a month. In 1991 the republic imported a total of 34.7 million tonnes of grain, 3.3 million tonnes of oilseed meal, and more than 2 million tonnes of rice, peanuts, pulses, and flour—only slightly above last year's level (when the grain harvest in the Soviet republics was 25 percent higher).

To meet CIS requirements grain is being centrally purchased this year using credits only. "Eksportkhleb" is currently using \$1.25 billion in U.S. credits and \$200 million in German credits. \$600 million of the U.S. credits have already been spent: The U.S. side allowed us to spend the last \$90 million of this sum both on buying grain and on paying the freight charges for its shipment. It was initially thought that the Soviet side would pay for the transport costs, but it does not have sufficient funds for this at present. In February the CIS will have to use another \$200 million of this credit.

A number of unforeseen problems have arisen owing to the inadequate shipment of imported grain—particularly, feed grain—in 1991. Some of our own food grain has had to be used for cattle feed, and "Eksportkhleb" has now been forced to change its purchasing structure, buying food grain instead of feed grain (food grain has risen to 50 percent of purchases), which largely came as a surprise for its partners.

Moreover, compared with last year grain prices on the world market have risen, which is also leading to additional expense. Further price increases can be expected this spring and particularly this summer.

Grain for the republics is being acquired by barter. "Eksportkhleb" is currently sealing contracts for the shipment to Russia in the next three months of 5 million tonnes of grain and 1.5 million tonnes of protein feed on extended barter terms. In line with a government resolution these purchases will be paid for with reciprocal shipments of oil, gas, and petroleum products.

Apart from Russia, "Eksportkhleb" is also buying grain to order for other republics—particularly Uzbekistan (in exchange for cotton)—as well as individual oblasts and major enterprises. As a rule these purchases are exclusively barter operations.

Certain republics are entering the foreign market independently (particularly Ukraine) but often buy grain at excessive prices, undermining prevailing market conditions.

The grain shipment problem could become acute too. Russia's ports are only capable of handling around 50 percent of all the incoming grain. Ukraine may possibly demand payment from other republics for the use of its ports.

Committee Requests Information on U.S. MIAs

PM1802141292 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by unidentified "our correspondent": "No One Should Be Missing in Action"]

[Text] A meeting took place 15 February between Major General of Aviation N. Stolyarov, chairman of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces Committee for Work With Personnel, and a delegation

of the U.S. Congressional Committee for the Affairs of U.S. Servicemen Missing in Action in Vietnam, Laos, and Korea, and During World War II.

In the course of the meeting questions of organizing closer collaboration in the search for servicemen of the U.S. Army and our own Army reported missing in action during hostilities in the second half of the 20th century were discussed. In this connection anyone who fought in Korea, Laos, and Vietnam and has any information on the fate of U.S. servicemen who were taken prisoner or killed in those countries is asked to call (095) 293-11-66 or write to this address: CIS Armed Forces Committee for Work With Personnel, K-160, Moscow, 103160.

Economic Relations With Germany in 'Crisis'

PM2002114092 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 18 Feb 92 First Edition p 7

[ITAR-TASS attributed commentary by Boris Kaymakov: "Danger of Debt Nonpayment"]

[Text] Economic relations between Germany and the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] are going through a serious crisis.

The reduction in the amount of state insurance to 5 billion german marks [DM] is becoming one of the chief barriers to trade between Germany and the CIS. Whereas firms and concerns used to conclude deals in the knowledge that, in the event of the nonpayment of debts, the FRG Government would reimburse their money, they cannot count on this today.

In announcing a real reduction in the amount of state insurance the FRG Ministry of Finance also laid down three basic conditions. First, the value of a deal must not exceed DM100 million. Second, a deal must help to preserve jobs in the former GDR. Third, exports must be carried out only for convertible currency.

At present firms which are seeking to conclude contracts with Russia have the best chance of obtaining state insurance. The shipyard in Rostock will apparently still supply Moscow with 15 ships ordered from the GDR by the former USSR. The contract stipulated payment in transfer rubles. FRG Economic Affairs Minister Moellmann, who has returned from a tour of the CIS, has declared that Moscow has agreed to pay DM850 million under that contract.

Whereas people in Rostock can be pleased, 15,000 machine builders in Leipzig are threatened with redundancy over the next few years. They can only be saved by the conclusion of a contract to modernize the pulp and paper combine at Bratsk. In March the Bonn authorities are to decide whether they will insure this deal. However, the finance minister believes that it is more expedient to allocate money for unemployment benefit or social assistance.

People here feel that Russia must pay the interest on bank credits to the tune of \$40 million at the end of

February. If this happens, Bonn will look more favorably on the possibility of supporting firms which wish to trade with Russia.

A special situation has taken shape with regard to Ukraine. Bonn well understands the prospects resulting from the establishment of trade and economic relations with Kiev. However, Ukraine's negative stance with regard to paying off the debts of the former USSR is eliciting an unambiguous reaction from Germany. Until this question has been resolved, the German Government will virtually block exports to that republic. Bonn hopes that the conference on this problem in Kiev 17-18 February with the participation of financial experts of the seven will help to change Ukraine's stance.

The toughening up of insurance conditions is making German firms revert to the old forms of cooperation. Thus, Siemens is placing the emphasis on setting up joint ventures involving third countries. Projects for the development of communications systems in Ukraine and Russia appear promising.

Not only CIS citizens but also German businessmen complain of the high cost of living in our country. It costs them more to stay in a hotel today than in a top class hotel in the West. Telephone calls, transport services, and the upkeep of firms' offices also cost quite a lot.

There are complaints and complaints, but representatives of the business world are aware that their competitors do not sleep. As FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU points out, Germans have already been left behind in Kazakhstan by the South Koreans, Italians, and French. You cannot open up a new market without risk, the newspaper remarks.

Reports of Submarines in Swedish Waters 'Refuted'

OW1702120492 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1043 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Main Naval Headquarters in Moscow has resolutely refuted Russian and Swedish press reports about CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] submarines sailing into Swedish territorial waters. An HQ expert said the so-called "small" submarines "have never gone beyond the territorial waters of the former USSR."

Four years ago two such submarines, MS-520 and MS-521, were assembled in St. Petersburg (then Leningrad), each costing 39.8 million rubles, according to the Naval HQ. Their technical characteristics are as follows: crew—3 members; water displacement—210 tons [as received]; length—28 m [meters]; speed—6.5 knots; sailing distance—240 miles; autonomous operation capacity—10 days; diving depth—200 m; power supply—diesel-electric generator.

Each submarine is equipped with hydroacoustic radar devices, a communications center, two containers for diving equipment transportation, and two devices for the storage and ejection of rescue containers.

According to the Naval HQ, the submarines have sailed out on more than 170 test missions and covered nearly 2,000 miles "without ever violating any country's territorial waters."

Baltics**'Russian' Army's 'Slow March East Has Begun'**

PM2002143692 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET
in Swedish 17 Feb 92 p 6

[Report by Sune Olofson: "The Russian Withdrawal Has Begun"]

[Text] Riga—The slow march east has begun. The Russian Army in the Baltic region is packing up its weapons. The occupiers must be gone from here within a year, the Balts say. It will take at least six years, the Russians say. Sensitive negotiations began recently.

"We do not intend to repeat the depressing experiences we had as a result of the withdrawal from central Europe when thousands of officers found themselves homeless and jobless and our soldiers had to sleep in tents," said Colonel General Valeriy Mironov, commander of the Russian forces in the Baltic region and the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad.

"We do not think that the Russians really want to go. We have an angry dog sitting on our haystack," said Georgs Stiprais, head of the Latvian Foreign Ministry's planning department.

In a speech to the People and Defense national conference in Lycksele last week Prime Minister Carl Bildt said:

"The negotiations between the Baltic countries and Russia are characterized by great slowness. The Russian presence, which is not regulated in any agreements, is naturally a cause for concern. The independent states have not even been informed in full of what combat forces there are within their frontiers."

In Riga SVENSKA DAGBLADET met with Russian and Latvian military representatives. A picture emerges of suspicion and uncertainty.

The two sides have met on two occasions, on 2 February and last Friday, 14 February. So far the negotiations have led to an assurance that the withdrawal from Lithuania will begin at the end of February and from Latvia at the end of March.

"It will be a painful process which will take five to seven years," said Colonel Igor Golin, who works at the Russian military press department in Riga.

Colonel General Mironov has been under strong pressure from his soldiers and officers who want a clear indication of when they will be forced to move from Latvia. Unofficially, and only to the officers, he has said that withdrawal will take eight to ten years, a Russian captain told SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

The withdrawal affects not only the approximately 150,000 soldiers and officers stationed in the Baltic

region. It is unclear what Russia intends to do with the forces in the Kaliningrad region.

The former Soviet Union built hundreds of military installations in the Baltic region. The Russians have military staffs, dwellings, and depots in every town.

Along the whole coastline, from Kaliningrad almost to the Gulf of Finland, there are around 110 radar and antiaircraft installations to protect against low-level flights.

In Skrunda, northeast of Riga, there is a large, satellite-controlled radar stations whose mission is to monitor the Western border for attacking missiles.

The Baltic Fleet in the Baltic region is built up around three large naval bases—Paldiski in Estonia, Liepaja in Latvia, and the large submarine base at Baltiysk near Kaliningrad. The fleet has over 200 ships at its disposal, including 30 conventional submarines.

The land forces form the largest part of the Russian military resources in the Baltic region, around 100,000 men. There are airborne divisions, motorized rifle units, armored divisions, and coastal defense units in places like Dobeles, Vilnius, Kaunas, Gusev, and Klaipeda.

The number of aircraft is estimated at 350-500. The major air bases are at Tukums in Latvia, Chernyakovsk near Kaliningrad, and Vasalemma in Estonia. There are also bombers and pursuit, attack, and surveillance aircraft in Tartu, Jessau [name as published], Daugavpils, and Lielvarde. Military runways have been constructed throughout the territory of the Baltic states.

"Our strategy is that the weapons must go first, and after that the premises of military staffs and bases," Georgs Stiprais said.

The Balts are already irritated. They point to the "logical contradiction" in the fact that Russia wants to take over Russian property, at the same time as it rejects the status of occupying power. Stiprais spoke of a Russian company in Liepaja which has begun to sell Russian military property.

"People have already begun demolition and have taken away materiel and in doing so have unilaterally breached the first agreement reached in the negotiations. We believe that Russia wants to keep the Baltic region in the Russian sphere of interest for security reasons," Stiprais said.

One agreement has been reached. All the military buildings constructed before 1940 will pass into the ownership of the Baltic states. Everything else will be negotiated.

The big problem is homes and jobs for the Russians.

"The officers must have their social security guaranteed. If they do not, there will be dissatisfaction which could

lead to revolt and conflicts," said Viktor Shekurov, chief editor of the Russian military publication, "The Good of the Fatherland."

"Some of the money which Russia used to defend itself against the West should now be used to build houses for its own officers," Georgs Stiprais said.

In the Baltic countries people point to Denmark as an example. Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen has earmarked part of Denmark's aid for Latvia.

"Denmark is giving money, and we will provide the workers. And together we will build homes in Pskov and Ostrov near the Russian-Latvian border for the families of Russian officers. Sweden should follow this example," said Auseklis Plavins, information chief at the Defense Ministry in Riga.

A question that is difficult to assess in the "Russian pollution."

"The military has destroyed our rivers, destroyed the land by driving on it, demolished churches and ancient monuments, and collectivized agriculture. A Professor Smulders has estimated that the Russians are responsible for destruction totaling 66 billion rubles," said Plavins, who spoke openly about the Russian strategy: Create confusion and obstacles in order to be able to show the world that the independent Baltic states cannot manage without mother Russia.

Military

Army Will Not Stand in Way of National Armies

OW2102013592 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2356 GMT 20 Feb 92

[From the 21 February "INTERFAX Business Report"—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] General Major of Aviation Nikolay Stolyarov, leader of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces' Committee on Personnel, announced in a press conference Thursday [20 February] that the current Army leadership is in favor of a unified Armed Forces but will not stand in the way of Commonwealth countries wishing to create their own national armies.

Press conference participants said that the current situation is complicated by problems with military discipline unified management command in the armed forces. [sentence as received] Some sources estimated that only about 80% of all military personnel are prepared to follow orders issued by their commanding officers.

Rumors of Russian Army Preparations Denied

PM2002142692 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by Major A. Yegorov: "Commander in Chief's Press Conference"]

[Text] At a meeting with journalists 18 February in the Russian Government press center on Zubovskiy Boulevard, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces, gave a brief resume of the work done on the creation of a new Commonwealth military organization. He gave a positive assessment of the results of the top level meeting in Minsk which has just finished. The fact that this meeting introduced a certain clarity into CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] defense building and advanced the resolution of servicemen's social problems is extremely important, he stressed.

The commander in chief reaffirmed his resolute stance as regards the troops' nonparticipation in armed conflicts, and stated that he is prepared to adopt a decision on the withdrawal of CIS military formations from the "hotbeds" of the Transcaucasus if peace is not reached by political means. Furthermore, Shaposhnikov added, the partial withdrawal of military subunits from Chechnya has already started, since its government is not in a position to ensure due security for servicemen and members of their families.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov denied rumors that active preparations for the formation of a Russian army are under way at Russian Government or High Command level, and that candidates for the post of minister of defense are being discussed.

"So much has been written in the press," the commander in chief said, "that I am amazed when I read it. They have written that a decree is ready. They have written that Grachev or Kobets might be minister. They have written that it might be Starovoytova... I don't know where people get their information from. Where they are getting all this from in order to splash it all over the pages of newspapers... The Russian president and I have repeatedly talked about this. What is his position? To be honest, very little depends on me in this matter. The president's position is that on the whole he is not in a hurry to create his own ministry and his own armed forces."

Here Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov mentioned that only two states—Belarus and Uzbekistan—of the eight that signed the agreement on Joint Armed Forces, have formed ministries of defense. "All the others have committees for defense matters. Russia also has a committee. It seems to me that we really must not be hasty with this issue," the marshal said.

Answering a question put to him by your KRSNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov said that the division of the Army on a

national or state basis must not be ruled out in the long term. Because the CIS is not a state or a suprastate superstructure, but a group of states that does not have a common center. At the moment, each of these states is declaring unequivocally that its definitive aim is independence with all its inherent attributes. A number of states also believe that it is imperative to have national armed forces.

At the same time, the commander in chief expressed the hope that the agreement on the creation of Joint Armed Forces, concluded in Minsk 14 February, may in time nevertheless develop into a defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact or NATO type.

And the last piece of news will undoubtedly be of interest to military readers. At present, as was stated, the Joint Armed Forces High Command is preparing a draft document under which servicemen serving in the army for 20 years have the right to the same pension when they are discharged from the cadres, as those who at present have 25 years' service. It is intended that the document will be signed at the next meeting of the heads of state in Kiev 20 March.

Conclusions of Sociological Poll 'Incorrect'

MK2002094092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 2

["Pertinent Letter" by Yelena Koneva, head of Moscow branch of All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions: "Real Support in Army Reform—This Is Most Likely To Come From the 'Middle Echelon' of Officer Corps and Young Officers"]

[Text] NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA published an analysis of the results of a sociological poll of participants in the All-Army Officers Conference 5 February.

In our view the authors of the article drew incorrect conclusions. The work was carried out by the Moscow branch of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions, therefore we consider it our duty to voice our viewpoint.

First, the results of the study should not be extended to all armed forces; we did not claim to have taken a representative sample in this work: Some 39 percent of those polled were representatives of the Moscow Military District. What is more—and this is of no small importance—it was predominantly senior officers that took part in the work of the conference. Of the officers who answered questions on the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions questionnaire, 57 percent were lieutenant colonels or colonels with more than 20 years' Army service. Junior officers only represented roughly 8 percent of the participants in the poll, yet they are a larger group within the officer corps.

More in-depth analysis of the results of the study illustrates that the opinion of that category (along with the opinion held by officers with 10-15 years' service) is extremely different from the sentiments of the majority of the conference participants. For instance, according to the study data, the following (in percentages) counted themselves supporters of the "idea of restoring a unified state within the USSR's former borders":

55—officers with under 10 years' service;

57—officers with 10-15 years' service;

71—officers with 20-25 years' service

78—officers with over 25 years' service.

More than 80 percent of senior officers with 20-25 years' Army service were of the opinion that the military should have the deciding say in questions pertaining to the future of the Armed Forces. Younger officers are not so sure: 70-77 percent.

Officers with 5-15 years' service with the troops pointed out more frequently than their senior comrades the need to create CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] joint armed forces. They are also less inclined to see the threat of armed conflict for Russia from the CIS states. As we can see, the range of opinions among officers is not as uniform as the writers of the article in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA presented it.

It is hard to agree with the conclusion that possible instances of troop subunits and units' disobeying their command will be the result of injustices and tyranny in the Army and the decline in discipline and morals. In our view, the main reasons for this phenomenon could be first and foremost the continuing attempts to involve the Army in interethnic clashes, a further increase in political instability in society, and the lack of legal foundations and guarantees for officers' and soldiers' service in and outside the independent Commonwealth states. The Army in many areas of the former USSR personifies the center of authority, and this provokes violence toward servicemen and their families and the seizure and looting of garrisons—which can cause ad hoc retaliatory actions by the military.

When asked a question that the authors of the article particularly singled out—"In your district or region are individual troop subunits and units likely in the near future to disobey their command's orders"—it was primarily officers representing the Transcaucasus Military District (78 percent of those polled), the Transcarpathian Military District (75 percent), and the Northwest Group of Forces in the Baltic (71 percent) that responded in the affirmative. As we can see, these are the "hottest" regions in the former Union. Incidentally, most officers in internal regions, the Western Group of Forces, and the Northern and Pacific Fleets regard the possibility of disobedience among troop units as unlikely.

The conclusion that "most officers do not want military reform" clearly contradicts the results of our study. On the contrary, it is among the middle officer echelon that a high level of dissatisfaction with the course of reform can be noted. From the results of the poll, we consider the views of those generals and senior officers of pre-pension age who took part in the conference to be more conservative.

Aircraft Carriers Likely To Be 'Scrapped'

OW2002142592 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1344 GMT 20 Feb 92

[By M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As DP [Diplomatic Panorama] learned at the Navy's General Staff in Moscow, the destiny of one of the two aircraft carriers under construction in the city of Nikolayev has been decided. The cruiser "Uliyanovsk" initially destined for the Northern Fleet will be scrapped. As for the cruiser "Varyag" initially meant for the Pacific Fleet, its construction has been frozen, and the final decision on this issue will evidently be taken later. Since the shipyards in Nikolayev now belong to Ukraine, the destiny of 3 more aircraft carriers: the cruisers "Kiev" (Northern Fleet), "Minsk" and "Novorossiysk" (Pacific Fleet) is in question. Built in Nikolayev and used for 12 years, they need to be repaired urgently. Since such repairs are possible only in Nikolayev, the Naval command is to make recommendations to the Russian leadership in regard to their further destiny. It is likely to decide that the ships should be scrapped.

Crimean Marines Pledge Oath to Commonwealth

OW2102125592 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1030 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] By Friday [21 February], more than 70% of the marine brigade stationed in Sevastopol, the Crimea, had taken the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. Sources said to be close to the marine command told IF [INTERFAX] that until February 14 90% of the personnel had been unwilling to pledge allegiance either to the CIS or to Ukraine, since the future of the Black Sea Fleet and the outcome of the Minsk summit were still unclear. Up until now not a single officer of the Sevastopol brigade has pledged loyalty to Ukraine.

One-fifth of the CIS marine personnel and hardware is based in the Crimea. Nearly all of the latest reinforcements came from Ukraine.

Political & Social

Congress of People's Deputies Agenda Discussed

OW2002131192 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1105 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The organizing committee for the 6th Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies held another session on Wednesday [19 February] to discuss the agenda. This was reported to IF [INTERFAX] by People's Deputy Aleksandr Krayko.

He said that the congress should discuss the situation in the country and steps to prevent a disaster. He also said that the organizing committee intends to open bank accounts to raise funds to finance the congress. The accounts will be reported in the press.

The organizing committee urged USSR People's Deputy Engler to stop his hunger strike for holding a congress and to join the efforts to organize it.

Commission to Investigate Gorbachev Activities

PM2102083192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 4

["Declaration by Public Commission for Investigating the Antipeople and Antistate Activities of M. Gorbachev in the Highest State Posts" dated Moscow, 18 February: "We Consider it our Civic Duty"]

[Text] We, representatives of various sections of the population and areas of activity—science, culture, literature, law, diplomacy, and the area of production and the economy—and deputies of all levels, carrying out the people's wishes expressed in many letters and speeches by working people and in the decisions of the thousands-strong rally which took place 12 January 1992 in Moscow, have formed a public commission and set about investigating the antipeople and antistate activities of M. Gorbachev. The catastrophic situation the homeland and its long-suffering people got into during his leadership of the country oblige us to do this.

We consider it our moral and civic duty to make a deep and careful analysis of the reasons for the Soviet Union and its national economy and statehood being destroyed, its territorial integrity being violated, its defensive potential and Army being undermined, and its organs of state security being destroyed, and to elucidate the reasons for the ethnic conflicts and the people's mass impoverishment, based on a study and comparison of many documents, juridical acts, publications, and contacts with citizens of our country and representatives of foreign countries. And to determine the degree of M. Gorbachev's personal responsibility in all these processes.

Particular attention will be paid to analyzing the results of M. Gorbachev's foreign policy activities, the treaties

and agreements with other states concluded during the period he led the country, and the reasons for the collapse of our state's foreign policy system, the undermining of its international positions and its role in the world arena, and the pernicious effect of this on the situation within the country.

One of the important aspects of the commission's work will be to study examples and manifestations of personal immodesty and unscrupulousness by M. Gorbachev and his use of state finances and other capital for gain (i.e. the construction of dachas, receipt of disproportionately large fees and valuable presents from foreign states, etc.). Other circumstances and incidents which characterized M. Gorbachev's activities will be checked—incidents of arbitrariness and lawlessness which should definitely become known to our and the world public.

The commission considers it necessary to state that it completely excludes prejudice and attempts to persecute M. Gorbachev for any personal, subjective reasons whatsoever in its activities; the commission will display maximum objectivity and propriety.

We are convinced that a public investigation of M. Gorbachev's activities, the publicizing of instances of his violation of the USSR Constitution and his abuse of his position as the country's leader, and also a public condemnation of these actions will help to establish the supremacy of people's power and supreme legislative organs over presidents, governments, and ministers; their accountability to the people and legislative representative organs; and rigorous observance of the Constitution.

The commission expresses the hope that M. Gorbachev will show respect for public opinion and that during the period his activities are being investigated and discussed he will not make attempts to leave our country.

The commission is relying on the greatest possible support for its activities from citizens, labor collectives, public organizations, political parties, and officials. The commission requests people to send materials which are of interest to the following addresses.

DEN [DAY] Editorial Office, 30 Central Tsvetnoy Boulevard, Moscow 103662.
Apartment 57, House 18 Aviatorov Street, Moscow 119620.
Moscow.

Agreement Signed For International Travel
OW2102020492 Moscow INTERFAX in English
2356 GMT 20 Feb 92

["Cover Story" from the 21 February "INTERFAX Business Report"—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]

NATIONAL COMPANIES FLY UNDER THE AEROFLOT BANNER

The demonopolization process has again turned to Soviet civil aviation. Demonopolization has paved the way not only for individual airlines for the former Soviet republics, but also for a few regions within Russia.

FORMER AEROFLOT AGENCIES GAIN FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INDEPENDENCE

New companies like Ukraine Airlines, Armenian Airlines, Lithuanian Airlines, Estonian Airlines and others have been registered as legal entities and conduct independent tariff and price policies.

The Tyumenaviatrans company, recently founded in western Siberia, plans to build an international airport in the Tyumen province. Likewise, eight government agencies involved in local air freight joined the Kamchat Air corporation, based on the Kamchatka peninsula in the Russian Far East. Airports in other far eastern cities such as Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and Blagoveschensk were also given administrative independence and the right to open their own financial accounts.

COMPANIES SIGN AN AGREEMENT FOR COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL

The Aeroflot Soviet Airlines industrial and commercial corporation, Aeroflot's successor, has reacted to the situation by proposing that 35 of the leading civil aviation enterprises sign an agreement to ensure cooperation in international Aeroflot flights.

All of the independent republics have signed the agreement with the exception of Lithuania, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Having already registered an independent Lithuania Airlines with international aviation authorities, Lithuania refuses to bind itself to the agreement. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are still considering the proposal.

Russian enterprises who have signed the agreement include: Tatarstan Airlines, Bashkir Airlines, Arkhangelsk Airlines, Siberia Air, Yakutia Air, Aerovolga, the Domodedov and Mineralovodsk industrial corporations, the Far Eastern Air corporation, and the St. Petersburg Civil Aviation Company.

CONDITIONS OF THE AGREEMENT

For international flights and other international financial activity conducted by the participants, the agreement allows for full and unrestricted the use of the names, emblems, commercial and other rights of the Aeroflot Soviet Airlines industrial and commercial corporation.

All hard currency proceeds from international financial activity conducted under the name Aeroflot Soviet Airlines will be transferred by the enterprise to an account in the soon to be created Center for International Mutual

Payments (CIMP). The CIMP, after processing all the necessary expenditures of a given transaction, will transfer all remaining funds to the enterprise's account once every three weeks. The Agreement affords that all proceeds from international financial activity are the property of the enterprise, and that the enterprise is responsible for covering all its own losses.

Media

Newspapers Cut Issues Due to Rising Costs

LD2102053892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino
Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT
20 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Only the fittest survive in the market. Paper prices have risen tenfold recently. Distribution costs continue to grow. The consequence is the closure of many newspapers and journals. A week without press is being held in Latvia. Many central publications have found themselves in a similar situation. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA did not appear yesterday. TRUD did not come out today. MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS has announced that starting today the price of each copy is being increased to 60 kopecks. It has been announced that some publications will renew subscriptions starting in March.

[Correspondent S. Yegorov] TRUD will be published as normal on 21 February and 22 February, but readers did not receive today's issue. More than one issue will be missing next week, too. The largest circulation newspapers are currently encountering the greatest difficulties. This is linked with the fact that their main expense is paper, the price of which continues to rise. As TRUD's editor in chief put it, the newspaper will keep afloat as long as it can. It is now going to start appearing four times a week. What happens in the future no one knows.

TASS Carries Press Review for 21 Feb

LD2102060992 Moscow TASS in English
0549 GMT 21 Feb 92

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—Today's newspapers write about the crisis facing the country's newspapers and magazines caused by a sharp increase in prices of newsprint and the cost of printing and transportation.

The newspaper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA blames the Russian Government for the crisis and accuses it of not taking measures to destroy the monopoly and dictatorship before raising prices.

The newspaper urges the government to fix prices on newsprint, and post and transport tariffs, as well as exempt periodicals from sales tax and added value tax.

The trade union daily TRUD warns the arbitrariness in prices may destroy many newspapers and magazines.

The military daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA comments on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's Decree on Social Welfare for Servicemen. The newspaper also publishes the text of the Agreement on General-Purposes Forces signed by Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan in Minsk on February 14.

The troop withdrawal from the Baltic states is economically and politically unreasonable, but the troops cannot stay in the states ruled by nationalistic forces, Valeriy Mironov, commander of the Northwestern Group of troops, told KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

The newspaper PRAVDA offers a discussion on current problems in Russian businesses held by heads of industrial enterprises.

They stressed that almost nothing is being done to fix the economy, which may be "put on the brink of death by poorly thought-out decisions by the governments of some Commonwealth states".

Newspapers comment on the talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan that began in Moscow on Thursday [20 February] to find ways to settle the conflict in the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

The newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA warns the conflict may develop into a civil war. "The Transcaucasus is open for political, and perhaps not only political, interference of the two old adversaries, Turkey and Iran," the newspaper said.

Analysing the causes of the sharp fall of the exchange rate of the U.S. dollar to the rouble, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA points to the "artificial character of this operation to raise the national currency". It says the dollar will grow since the old sources of inflation have not been eliminated.

In an interview with PRAVDA, Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the first Russian constitutional court, speaks about its tasks and role. He warns about the threat of Russia's disintegration.

"I have information showing that some forces want to do to Russia what they have done to the Soviet Union. The authorities should stop this process not with the imperial stick but concrete proposals of a new federative system, which would give broad powers to Russian republics and territories," Zorkin said.

Newspapers also carry reports about the situation in the Middle East.

International Affairs

Armenia-Azerbaijan Talks Continue in Moscow

Yeltsin, Armenian President Hold Talks

LD2002174892 Moscow TASS in English
1651 GMT 20 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow February 20 ITAR-TASS—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, who arrived in Moscow today, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin have begun talks in the Kremlin, correspondents, who are kept out of the meeting, have learned.

First vice premier of the Russian Government Gennadiy Burbulis is taking part in the meeting, ITAR-TASS was told. Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, was expected to take part as well, but it has been impossible to obtain confirmation, as the press was not invited to the Kremlin.

No official statement will be made upon the end of the meeting, as it is a pure working meeting, ITAR-TASS was told by a member of the presidential press service.

Observers believe that the talks are focussing on the settlement in and around Nagorno-Karabakh and normalization of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations.

Cease Fire Agreed Upon

LD2002164392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] We have just this second received in the studio a communique on the results of the meeting of the Azerbaijani, Armenian, and Russian foreign ministers. The ministers adopted a communique today on the results of talks held in Moscow.

The communique says: Having discussed a range of issues in accordance with the agreement earlier attained in Minsk between the presidents of these three states, the participants in the meeting arrived at a number of conclusions which they will report to their presidents and parliaments. They include: to effect an immediate cease-fire in the zone of the Karabakh conflict and to unblock roads and communications, primarily to deliver humanitarian aid; to recognize the need for comprehensive compliance with the obligations undertaken by the sides in terms of CSCE provisions, and, most important, to renounce the use of force or the threat of force; to adopt and approve the idea of further use of the peace-making potential and efforts of the CSCE and the United Nations in the interests of resolving the conflict; to ensure a stable negotiating process with the aim of developing guarantees and mechanisms for observing a cease-fire and searching for a comprehensive settlement to the conflict; to support the Russian Foreign Ministry's initiative to set up a tripartite working group to assist in

peace making efforts in preparing the negotiating process, including the issues of determining the composition of participants and the forms of their participation.

Joint Declaration Signed

OW2002141492 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1344 GMT 20 Feb 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" Feature; by M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the call of Russia and with its mediation Armenia and Azerbaijan held talks in Moscow today on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh on the level of foreign ministers. As a result of the talks they signed a joint declaration. When the talks began Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev described them as "constructive and civilized". Azerbaijan's envoy in Moscow Zaur Rustam-zade was a member of the Azeri delegation. He told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent that it's essential "not only to reach an agreement, but also to implement it". Z. Rustam-zade said he was satisfied that those who sat at the negotiating table represented-civilized states. Past are the times when "everything was decided by the Center", he said. With reference to Russia's role in the process of talks the spokesman for Azerbaijan said that "any mediation: Russian, Turkish or Iranian, is welcome. The main thing is that it was conducive to gaining the goals set". The head of the Armenian delegation, Foreign Minister Raffi Ovannian, said that the Karabakh problem is above all a problem of human rights. He reaffirmed the stand of Armenia which is in favor of deploying in Nagorno-Karabakh a peace-keeping force, be it a UN or a CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] contingent. According to him, today's meeting in Moscow laid foundations for further negotiations between the two sides.

Starovoytova Comments on 'Obstacles' to Peace

LD2002205692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1630 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] Today's main event, a political event, is the talks in Moscow between the foreign ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Here is one more extract from the statement by Russian People's Deputy Galina Starovoytova at her news conference today:

[Begin Starovoytova recording] I welcome this meeting and believe that the more such meetings there are, the better, although I do not think they will stop firing from grad launchers [ustanovka grad] just because of today's meeting. That launcher is banned by international conventions as a mass strike weapon, yet it is being used to strike the capital, Stepanakert. There have been dozens of casualties today. The town is burning, and it is impossible to stop the fire, because there is simply no fuel to run the water pumps.

I believe that what prevents them from stopping is the hatred that has built up, caused by the blood that has been shed over the last four years of the conflict. It is very hard today to turn back the clock on this conflict. Today is 20 February. It is exactly four years ago today that the Nagorno-Karabakh oblast soviet adopted its decision backing reunification with Armenia and sent the parliament of Azerbaijan an appeal to that effect. There have been four years of conflict. After that, Sumgait [massacre of Armenians in that Azerbaijani port] broke out, and more. Of course, the buildup of hatred and shedding of blood cannot be forgotten in the lifetime of one generation. The Armenians still remember 1915 [massacre of Armenians by Turkey] today, although several generations have passed since then.

Stopping is also prevented by the imperfection of international law, the contradiction between the principles of self-determination and sovereignty. It is prevented by the passive attitude of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] member states and the CIS troops which are intended to maintain peace and order on the territory where they are deployed, but which are today remaining neutral at best, and at worst supplying arms to just one of the sides in the conflict under various pretexts. For example, a tank has its turret and electronics removed; the tank from the 4th Army, deployed in Azerbaijan, is sold to a rural soviet, apparently as a tractor for agricultural work; after that, the turret and all the hardware are put back, and the tank joins in combat operations. The Azerbaijani side has also received its grad launchers from the Soviet army. They have not been made in factories in Baku. The army's role there today is probably even negative in many cases. This is a reflection of the unhealthy processes going on in some of our army subunits today.

There are very many obstacles. The process will be long and hard. It is very easy to withdraw troops from a place, wherever it is, but at no time in history has it been possible to bring them back afterward. Therefore, today we must weigh all the factors for and against the withdrawal of these troops.

I realize that there are many reasons for such a position, especially the threat to these troops themselves and the threat of these troops' weapons being stolen, including chemical weapons, which unfortunately do exist in this region. The nuclear weapons were withdrawn in 1990, but certain other types of mass destruction weapons remain. With the instability of the situation there, of course there is a great temptation to simply withdraw the troops. First, we must realize that no one will let troops out of Azerbaijan with weapons. The troops may be withdrawn, but the weapons will remain. How these weapons will be used is perfectly clear in the conditions there today.

Let's decide then where the Russian border will run and where the border troops should be deployed and on what lines. Perhaps it should be in the south of Stavropol and

Krasnodar krais? The fact is that the 75th Motor-Rifle Regiment, which is deployed in Nakhichevan, is living in very harsh conditions today, with the wives and children of the officers virtually hostages of the extremists. The 366th Regiment of the Ministry of Defense deployed in Stepanakert is a rear support for our border troops on the border with Turkey and Iran. This border has been to a considerable extent destroyed and opened. There is free movement of all kinds of consumer goods across it. I think everything depends on our national strategic doctrine. What is Russia doing, wandering indifferently across this border? Is it renouncing any kind of influence in this region? Is it moving away from the Transcaucasian ridge? That is one situation. If we think that we are going through a difficult period of transition, as a consequence—on the basis of parity and with the consent of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and perhaps Georgia, with which we will conclude military-political treaties—then perhaps it has made sense up to now to maintain the presence of our troops there. Armenia, incidentally, is certainly not insisting on the withdrawal of CIS troops from its territory. The 7th Army is deployed there. No one is attacking it, although Armenia needs to be armed today no less than Azerbaijan. [end recording]

The Russian people's deputy was given more questions than she was able to answer. The subjunctive mood prevailed in this portion of her answers. Maybe tomorrow we will get answers to some of these questions.

French Reaction to Yeltsin Visit Viewed

924C0623A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 7, 12 Feb 92 p 9

[Report by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Kirill Privalov: "Meeting on the Seine—The French Understood a Good Deal, if Not Everything"]

[Text] Paris—"Most obviously Paris will be for Yeltsin just as successful as his trips to London, New York, Camp David, and Ottawa," LE FIGARO wrote on the eve of the visit of the president of the Russian Federation.

But, unless my memory betrays me, success was foretold for Gorbachev's visit to France in 1985 also. Gorbachev was a surprise, but comprehensible. And pleasant—he was, after all, beginning his international tour with Paris.

Yeltsin is a surprise for Paris, incomprehensible and even disturbing in some respects. He demonstratively (such is the opinion of the French) went first to Bonn, Rome, London, Washington, and Ottawa and only then looked in on Paris, which was awaiting this rendezvous with embarrassment following the cool reception of Russian presidential candidate Yeltsin last spring. But let bygones be bygones, as they say. The main thing is that the meeting of post-communist Russia and socialist-controlled France took place, was successful, and culminated in the signing of numerous important documents. But the question is whether this was a new stage in French understanding of the "enigmatic Russian

soul" under the conditions of democracy and the impending market, unprecedented on Russia's expanses.

"It seems to me that, aside from the purely politico-economic propositions, Yeltsin's Paris message amounted to two points: The first democratically elected president of Russia warned France of the danger of the 'red and brown' reaction straining after power in our country and voiced fears that, in the event of a return to Stalinism, some responsibility for the failure of the democratic reforms would accrue to French statesmen and business people which are as yet in no hurry to step up cooperation with free Russia," said Rafael Douieb, well-known architect and vice president of the influential France-Liberte foundation (it is headed by Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the president of France).

It is no secret that for the French establishment, which lives mainly with the problems of the Europe of 12 economically most developed states, B. Yeltsin's words about "reds and browns" were merely an irritant. "Admit it, President Yeltsin is deliberately dramatizing the situation to obtain new credit from the French authorities?" Bruno Fanucchi, observer for the newspaper LE PARISIEN, tried to elicit from me. He was by no means the only one to whom Yeltsin's appeal "People, be vigilant!" which was heard in Paris' City Hall, came as a complete surprise. And what can we say if even the prestigious AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE, summarizing the speech of the president of the Russian Federation, wittingly or unwittingly refashioned "reds and browns" into "blacks and browns"—a considerable difference, you will agree. This was what was carried on the front pages of many French newspapers. True, someone somewhere woke up, and AFP sent a correction over the teletype, but the majority of newsmen had neither time nor space left for belated corrections. "It is regrettable, but apparently the French only half-understood Yeltsin," confessed Charles Lambroschini, head of LE FIGARO's international service, who has himself worked in Moscow.

The meetings between our president and the French employers and Premier Edith Cresson showed that, catching up with other Westerners, the French are prepared to render our country assistance, but the president of democratic Russia went to Paris with his hand stretched out not for charity but for a firm handshake. A handshake of free and equal partners. It was no accident that for the first time in the history of relations between our countries a group of almost 50 Russian entrepreneurs flew from Moscow as part of the delegation.

"Each of us has come to sign business contracts with French firms and enterprises," said Aleksandr Khazhaky, manager of the Russian Commodity-Raw Material Exchange and a member of this delegation. "Long-term agreements had been prepared in advance, and not at the level of state foreign trade associations, as before, but directly between joint-stock, cooperative organizations and commercial banks. It is time the West understood that today it is not ministries but large

industrial-commercial companies and banking and exchange associations that guarantee the stability of business relations with us. The Russian Government, on the other hand, must not choke business people with taxes but promote their activity and integration in the West's economic structures. I would like to believe that, having taken with them to Paris so massive a business assault landing force, Yeltsin and Gaydar will very soon show that their promises at the meeting with French and Russian businessmen are not at variance with their deeds."

The top-level meeting of the leaders of France and Russia raised many questions, not contentious but current, practical ones. Former potential enemies, who had earlier put the emphasis on fine-sounding official protocols on their "special relationship," but who in fact targeted missile warheads at one another, are once again becoming allies and fellow thinkers. "The break in history, which lasted three-quarters of a century," Francois Mitterrand said at a joint news conference of the two presidents, has been restored."

Habash Affair Obscures Yeltsin in France

924C0598A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 6 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by Yuriy Leonov and Oleg Bergazov: "In Expectation of Triumph: The Success of Yeltsin's Paris Visit Is Not Obvious"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in Paris yesterday evening on an official state visit. In the mentality of today's Russian man in the street, as of many journalists also, each departure for the West of Russian, as, formerly, of Soviet, leaders is connected with expectations of another portion of economic assistance from the country playing host to our high-level guests. In the course of the present visit it is expected that the Russian president will solicit assistance from the French for Russia's emergence from the crisis and the consolidation therein of democracy and also for the country's integration in Europe, which is living well.

But it would be naive to reduce the purpose of the visit merely to this. For Boris Yeltsin this is his first official visit to France as leader of a still powerful nuclear state and the successor of the Union. The anticipated triumph in Paris could be a kind of revanche for the previous dualism of the French in their simultaneous and, alas, nonequivalent love for the two Moscow presidents—Russian and Union. The crowded nature of the program of the visit is on a par with expectations: following the splendid ceremony to welcome Yeltsin at Orly Airport, the first talks between Russian and French presidents began. At the same time negotiations were under way between Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, Russian Interior Minister Viktor Yerin, Commander in Chief of the CIS Armed Forces Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, and leader of the domestic economic reform Yegor Gaydar, and their French colleagues. An official dinner

in honor of Boris Yeltsin and his wife on behalf of Francois Mitterrand, at which the presidents exchanged speeches, began late in the evening. A meeting of delegations of Russian businessmen and representatives of the National Council of French Employers was to have been held the same day.

At the residence of Russian Ambassador Yuriy Ryzhov Boris Yeltsin will meet representatives of the Russian emigre community. As has become known to us from unofficial sources, Grand Prince Vladimir Kirillovich and his wife have been invited at the Russian president's request.

In the opinion of experts, the main topic of official Russian-French negotiations will be the question of France's participation in the disarmament process. Earlier Paris had made its participation conditional on active and significant steps by Moscow and Washington in reducing strategic nuclear arsenals. Yeltsin and Bush have taken such steps, having presented significant disarmament initiatives. It is now up to the other members of the "nuclear club," France included.

The signing of a treaty on cooperation between Russia and France, four protocols and, possibly, other joint documents is anticipated in the course of the visit. The scale of Yeltsin's visit is impressive. A significant detail: According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA information, in the period of preparation for the visit the Russian side declared unambiguously that the visit would take place only if it were a state visit.

So all the adduced facts indicate, it would seem, that Yeltsin's visit to France is fated to succeed. But let us not rush to conclusions. Alas, little space has been accorded the Russian leader's anticipated visit in the French press of recent days. At the center of public attention has been a noisy political row connected with the presence last week in Paris of Georges Habash, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine general secretary. Despite the fact that the French president evaluated the Red Cross' decision to admit Habash for a medical examination as a mistake, this incident was for the opposition an excellent opportunity for sharp criticism of the government. On 7 February, when the signing of the Russian-French treaty is planned, the French parliament will, possibly, be dealing with a vote of no confidence in the government. According to Mitterrand, if the members of parliament express no confidence in the government, it will resign. A government crisis is not the best atmosphere for a state visit.

Khasbulatov Attends Council of Europe Session

LD2002230192 Moscow TASS in English
1347 GMT 20 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Viktor Khrekov]

[Text] Strasbourg February 20 TASS—Russian Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov arrived in Strasbourg today to attend a meeting of parliamentary leaders of 35 European countries opening here on Friday [21 February].

Speaking to journalists at the airport, where he was met by Council of Europe officials and the Russian ambassador to France, Yuriy Ryzhov, Khasbulatov stressed that he will inform the Council of Europe about the basic principles of Russia's policy.

He said Russia is now seeking integration into the European Community, including its interparliamentary organisations.

"I, as a parliamentary leader, have not brought any specific proposals to discuss. We will speak about developing interparliamentary ties, current problems and 'sore spots' in relations between our countries," Khasbulatov said.

"They have been building a united Europe for four decades and we want to create a Commonwealth of Independent States in several days. We need to go further step by step, resolving the existing contradictions," Khasbulatov said.

He said he will also seek to create an attractive image of Russia, its government and parliament in Europe. "We will leave arrows of criticism and political disputes at home," he said.

Meets Strasbourg Mayor

LD2002231892 Moscow TASS in English
1239 GMT 20 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Viktor Khrekov]

[Text] Strasbourg February 20 TASS—Russian Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, who arrived in Strasbourg today to attend a meeting of parliamentary leaders of 35 European countries opening here on Friday [21 February], met with Strasbourg Mayor Catherine Trautmann.

Trautmann and Khasbulatov discussed improving bilateral relations between cities and regions and expressed hope France and Russia will continue friendly relations.

Khasbulatov signed in the book for honorary guests and was awarded a commemorative medal depicting Strasbourg's main symbols, the Palace of Europe, the seat of the Council of Europe, and the city cathedral.

Discusses Investment With Businessmen

LD2102000192 Moscow TASS in English
2145 GMT 20 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Batyrev and Viktor Khrekov]

[Text] Strasbourg February 20 TASS—Meeting Russian parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, on a visit in Strasbourg, the centre of Alsace, local businessmen put to him dozens of questions. They were interested to know what terms for investments in Russia are like at present, how Russian law protects entrepreneurs' interests and whether it is possible to buy plots of land in, say, Vladimir region.

Alsatian businessmen, who have much influence in France, wished to learn from Russian parliamentary speaker about the real situation in Russia and other Republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States and about prospects for the development of business cooperation.

Describing the course of the economic reform, Khasbulatov said that leaders of the Republic are striving to provide a solid legislative basis for the transfer from the state monopoly economy to the market economy. "Our economic reforms are not improvisation. They rest on a solid legal basis", Khasbulatov said. "The present economic course is a long-term strategic choice of our government and society, and one should not expect any sudden turns or rolling back", he said.

Austrian Officials Discuss Economics in Moscow

AD2102100792 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG
in German 20 Feb 92 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Busek and Schuessel in Moscow"]

[Text] During initial talks held by Vice Chancellor Erhard Busek and Economics Minister Wolfgang Schuessel with Russian politicians in Moscow on 19 February at the beginning of their three-day visit to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], both sides stressed interest in the further coordination of cooperation with Austria and in the intensification of mutual contacts.

Busek and Schuessel met with, among others, Energy Minister Vladimir Lopuchin, Vice President Aleksander Rutskoy, as well as Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis.

As Economics Minister Schuessel stressed, the documents for a comprehensive trade agreement with Russia have been handed over. The formation of a Russian-Austrian energy commission has been agreed. With Minister Lopuchin, Schuessel stated that in 1991 goods worth 10 billion schillings were imported from the Soviet Union, which still existed at that point. A total of 85 percent came from the Russian Federation.

In Vienna State Secretary Peter Jankowitsch suggested the establishment of an Austrian-Russian trade chamber to promote the expansion of economic relations.

'Stabilizing Situation' Urged

LD2102054992 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis met today with Austrian Vice Chancellor Erhard Busek. The Austrian vice chancellor stated that he was not hoping for the former Union's debts to be repaid very quickly. The Republic of Austria intends, as far as it can, to contribute to stabilizing the situation in Russia. The Austrian vice chancellor welcomed the initiative by Ukraine, which has stated its readiness to pay off its part of the foreign debt.

Starovoytova Views 'Brittle CIS Structure'

LD2002132192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] The Russian president's adviser expressed her views at a news conference concerning the prospects for the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].

[Begin Galina Starovoytova recording] I think that the idea put forward some time ago by Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, when he insisted that it was necessary urgently to conclude a new Union treaty—this was three years ago, when the former USSR authorities had no wish to hear of such a possibility and when the Novo-Ogarevo process was something remote—sooner or later will gain the upper hand where the principles of the structure of the CIS are concerned. Already at that time, Andrey Dmitriyevich proposed in his draft that all the subjects of the new confederation should be equal and also that the conditions of entry into the new Union should be flexible. You can see in practice, using the first months of the CIS' existence as an example, that we are moving toward this self-same principle in this new structure, too; we are compelled to do so. Surely this new political reality must be accepted and surely we must avoid bringing everyone down to the same common denominator. [end recording]

Galina Starovoytova noted that this viewpoint was shared by some CIS leaders too. True, it does not mean that they are interested in the brittle CIS structure collapsing as soon as possible.

Individual Armed Forces Supported

LD2002140292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1300 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] Galina Starovoytova, adviser to the Russian president, spoke to journalists today, drawing attention to the low morale of certain military groupings. Among the causes, the Russian presidential adviser named the current economic state of all the states within the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], the forced swearing of military allegiance, and the frequently hostile attitude of the population of various regions of the former Union.

All this is affecting military discipline, Starovoytova stressed. What is needed to resolve these matters? Galina Starovoytova said:

[Begin Starovoytova recording] I think the settlement of these problems will be related directly to military reform, with the elaboration of a new military doctrine, and with the formation of the armed forces of Russia itself. This process—and this is my own personal view—is long overdue. We have no need to be embarrassed here, or to fear any reproaches from other states. Russia has the same right to create its own armed forces and Ministry of Defense as the other members of the CIS. [end recording]

At the same time, Galina Starovoytova indirectly declined to take up the post of Russian defense minister. She said the reason for declining was that the future Russian army was not one to be commanded by a woman, and furthermore, public opinion has not yet reached the stage where it can accept a woman as the head of the armed forces or the Ministry of Defense.

Russian-U.S. Cooperation on MIA's Planned

PM2002120892 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 19 Feb 92 p 5

[Report by Major M. Pogorelyy [M.P.]: "Prisoners To Be Sought Together"]

[Text] How wisely the ancients noted that everything on earth has its season: There is a time to fight and a time to start healing grievous wounds. And now, it seems, has come the time to finally clarify an issue which has painfully disturbed the hearts and minds of the American nation. We are talking about U.S. servicemen taken prisoner or posted missing in whose fate the USSR is alleged to have been involved to some extent.

American Senator John Kerry, chairman of the committee in charge of POW and MIA affairs, and Senator Bob Smith, deputy chairman of that committee, have come to Moscow precisely in an attempt to establish whether there are even a few grains of truth here.

At a news conference held on the results of their visit John Kerry deemed it essential to state straightaway that they had failed to discover any indications to corroborate rumors about the presence of American prisoners in the Commonwealth states at the present time (although work with documents, of which there are a considerable number, will continue in Washington); likewise, there is no reliable evidence that U.S. servicemen taken prisoner or posted missing during the Korean or Vietnam wars were brought here or detained here; the same applies to the crews of spy planes shot down over our territory.

What struck the Americans was the understanding with which their difficult mission was treated in Moscow by people who are weighed down by the "search for food" and the burden of other pressing problems. The virtually free access which they were granted to relevant material

in the archives of the Foreign Ministry, the KGB, and the Main Intelligence Directorate [GRU], which have not even been fully studied by the Russian special services, surprised the U.S. legislators even more agreeably, particularly as currently in the United States they are still only promising to declassify—possibly in the near future—documents concerning the problems of American POW's and MIA's.

The Russian authorities, apart from delivering archive documents to the senators, also promised to continue aiding them in their search. In particular, Senator Smith said that in March a representative of Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy will visit Vietnam and Laos to "prepare the ground" prior to the visit to those countries by an American delegation searching for their compatriots.

According to Russian parliamentarian Vladimir Lukin, who has been appointed ambassador to the United States and who attended the news conference, the problem of coordinating efforts in the search was discussed during meetings between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. And it is planned to conduct unprecedented joint Russian-American parliamentary hearings on this question next September-October. In Lukin's opinion, the sides are counting on other Commonwealth states also showing understanding.

For their part, the senators reported, the committee which they head "will apply pressure" on the U.S. State Department to ensure that America's foreign policy department steps up its activity, using its influence among Afghan mujahidin (Pakistani circles should not be forgotten either—M.P.), to ascertain as quickly as possible the fate of our compatriots posted missing during the Afghan War.

Historian Names Four Americans Held in Gulag

LD1702221392 Moscow Russian Television
Network in Russian 2000 GMT 17 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [A. Rodov] Milag, a former special camp in the Gulag, near Inta. It was here, in the postwar years, that the so-called foreign subjects served their time. There were American citizens among the 6,000 foreigners here. They were brought here from Berlin's Eastern Occupied Zone following the end of the Second World War. We know that the majority were repatriated in the 1950's. Some changed their names and remained resident in the Republic.

[N. Morozov, historian] They were hostages. If anything happened in the West that was against the USSR, these people could easily be shot and killed. Americans from Berlin and Vienna, for example: (John Noble), (William Marchuk), (Ray Spark), (Jerry Cherney). These are the names of four Americans who were held in our camps and about whom no more is known. ["Filmed by 'Vid-eopresskanal,' interview with Morozov"]

Yeltsin's U.S. Visit in Jul 'Will Help Bush'*PM1902175792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4*

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Yeltsin To Fly to United States in July To Sign New Disarmament Treaty and Help Bush in Election Campaign"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker flew out of Moscow on the evening of 18 February having completed his latest and probably longest tour of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries.

As already reported, he met with Boris Yeltsin 17 February and held two-hour talks with Andrey Kozyrev 18 February. Speaking to journalists after his meeting with the secretary of state, the Russian president announced that his next visit to the United States would be in July.

This will be at the height of the election campaign, which has started depressingly for George Bush. It is clearly no accident that July was chosen—that is the month when the Democratic convention is held and a month before the analogous Republican convention (in August). The Russian leader's visit will draw increased attention to the U.S. President and his main trump card—foreign policy. This will help Bush score additional points in the election marathon. According to Russian diplomats, Moscow originally proposed a different timetable for the visit, but it was then decided to make another friendly gesture and accept the U.S. proposal.

James Baker's Moscow talks centered on disarmament issues. Russia and the United States agreed to set up a joint ballistic missile early-warning center (it has not yet been decided where it will be located, or when construction will begin). It is not ruled out that other states will subsequently join in this idea. Moreover, Baker stated that the United States is prepared to exchange "technology in the sphere of global protection against limited nuclear strikes" with Russia.

Nonetheless, the United States is not yet ready to cut its strategic arms to the level (2,500 warheads) proposed by the Russian president last month. Baker was also quite skeptical about Yeltsin's statement on the retargeting of our missiles. In his opinion, the missiles could very quickly be redirected to their original targets. Moreover, it is impossible to verify what programs are loaded into the guidance systems.

Baker was also unenthusiastic about Andrey Kozyrev's proposal last week in Geneva for delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads to be stored separately. In the opinion of Russian experts, the Americans are scared that if this idea were implemented they would have to remove warheads from their nuclear submarines.

At a joint news conference on the results of the talks both Kozyrev and Baker stated that the sides are prepared to accelerate talks on strategic arms cuts without getting

distracted by technical details—which have often proved an insuperable obstacle in the past.

A nuclear arms reduction treaty should be ready for signing at the time of Yeltsin's July visit to the United States, Kozyrev stated. "We will move as fast as possible, using foreign ministerial meetings to this end," he said. It has been announced that the next meeting will be in Brussels 10 March.

Before leaving Moscow Baker met with Tengiz Sigua, acting Georgian prime minister. According to news agency reports, the secretary of state was persuaded to take this step by Eduard Shevardnadze. "Georgia is the only republic in the former USSR which we have not yet visited. It is important that the Georgian people realize that there will be no discrimination on the part of the United States," Baker stated.

Importance of Relations With CIS Argued*PM2002170092 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Feb 92 pp 1, 5*

[Commentary by Tomas Kolesnichenko under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Look at Yourself"]

[Text] These two events are not outwardly connected. The president spoke in parliament, outlining Russian foreign policy. And several days before this the session of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads of state ended without result in Moscow, with no particular publicity. However, these events, like the new meeting of presidents in Minsk, are part of the same "nerve center" which cannot be untangled, still less cut.

Relations with the other CIS countries are becoming a foreign policy priority for Russia. But the close interweaving of foreign policy with domestic problems only complicates the situation, requiring a new and unorthodox approach to it. Today's calls for a "common diplomatic area" in the CIS sound like a voice crying in the wilderness. It is as realistic as a ruble area.

In turn this means that Russia's relations with CIS countries, like other Commonwealth countries' diplomacy, must take a leading place in the foreign policy hierarchy. The important thing now is not only who becomes a Russian ally but also toward whom Ukraine and Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Belarus—in short, the other CIS participants—will orient themselves.

But for the moment, judging from Yeltsin's tour itinerary and his speech in parliament, the Kremlin is taking the smooth path, preferring to count on relations with the West's developed countries. In principle, this is understandable. "Over there" there is big money (the "G-7"), our former main rival the United States, and world influence. Lastly, Moscow expects life-saving aid from there, forgetting, it is true, that the other CIS countries are waiting for this aid too. Questions arise: Should you, as the saying goes, "put all your eggs in one

basket," and to what extent is a one-sided orientation toward the West in Russia's national interests, including purely economic interests?

Let us begin with the latter, since everything here is in the public eye. The West is indeed ready to help Yeltsin, just as it previously helped Gorbachev. Now even more, because the restoration of totalitarianism has become even more dangerous. But it is known that even the most beautiful woman in France can give only what she has. And the West (to be precise, Western states' governments) has only money. They are giving it to Russia, but in a limited quantity. The main thing is that it is a loan. Consequently Yeltsin is following in Gorbachev's footsteps, he is doing what he himself criticized the USSR president for—obtaining credits.

From Paris, for example, he has brought back 3.5 billion francs from the 4 billion promised in the form of credit to Gorbachev. Previously democrats would have said: "We need investments, but you have brought only new debts." Now they talk about this as a great victory. The truth, as always, lies somewhere in the middle. Credits are needed, we cannot survive without them, and the fact that there are no investments is not the fault of Gorbachev or Yeltsin or Western states' governments. Nobody can order his entrepreneurs to invest (rather than lend!) money in the Russian economy or to embark on cooperation, setting up joint enterprises, and so forth. They will never embark on this while there is instability and a high degree of risk in our country.

But the opposite conclusion can also be drawn from this: Each step in the direction of stabilizing the situation in the CIS and restoring internal economic ties on the former USSR's territory is a real step in the right direction. Only in this way is it possible to create a situation in which foreign investors will not shy away from us. It is a pity that today such an extremely banal thought cannot get through to the top echelons of the Russian authorities, which are becoming increasingly bogged down in numerous disputes within the CIS.

Another thing concerning economics: Having turned toward the developed West, we must still look back at the East. We have already experienced the results of a rupture or abatement of established economic ties with East European countries, India, the Near East, and so on. But we have not calculated how many billions (including investments) have been lost today and will be lost tomorrow as a result of forgetting our southern and eastern neighbors and other states in the East and in Africa. They are not rich in money terms but their potential resources combined with ours can be utilized to develop mutually advantageous production, moreover their technology fits in better with ours than further advanced Western technology. It is, of course, possible to pay no attention to the fact that Kazakhstan, unlike Russia, has already established diplomatic relations with

South Africa. But is it really possible to look on indifferently while the other CIS countries overtake Russia in establishing advantageous mutual relations with Iran, Turkey, Korea, and so on?

Incidentally, the West has long understood this advantage. We are well aware of the colonial "plundering" of the Asian and African peoples and the "neocolonialists' machinations," but we know practically nothing about multifaceted trade and economic relations between East and West. All kinds of exotic fruits are on the shelves in Western cities all year round, there are entire blocks of Arab, Turkish, Indian, and other firms in Western capitals—these are merely the outward attributes of such ties. Behind them are vigorous reciprocal investments and mixed companies, in short an entire infrastructure which we should be thinking about.

The political orientation of Russia's new diplomacy is no less complex. Many questions arise from the "democratic zone of trust" which is being formed in the northern hemisphere, which, according to the president, would enable the very largest powers' potential to be used to tackle the tasks of Russia's economic revival.

In principle the creation of such a "zone" can only be welcomed. It is especially important for resolving global problems, above all disarmament. New economic possibilities are opening up, although as we can see, having turned toward the West we must also look back at the East. But here is the question: How far should we go together in bilateral relations with Western countries, above all the United States? Being equal allies is one thing, being a "horse and rider" alliance is another. Being allies does not mean "to trade and not to fight." There would have been no need to find fault with this throwaway phrase of Yeltsin's at the Canadian airport, had he later clarified this question at least in his speech in parliament. We have traded (in a very small way) with the West before, in a period of tough confrontation. Now it is not a matter of trade but of the compatibility of national interests and common goals and of political collaboration. This is the main thing in an alliance.

Russia and the United States can advance far on this path. However, everything has its limits. Every country has its own geopolitical interests, especially if they are great powers with their own historical zones of influence.

The biggest mistake is to think that our new ally the United States is ready to give preference to Russia in the CIS. Recently Bush had only to outwardly show a "leaning toward Russia" to come under sharp criticism. Here is what, for example, V. Garber [name as transliterated], former U.S. under secretary of defense and assistant to the NATO secretary general, claims in an article entitled "Ukraine—The Key To Stabilizing East Europe": "U.S. security policy must be based on two criteria: 1. Policy in the sphere of disarmament and prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons must be identical for Russia, Ukraine, and the former Soviet

Union's other republics. 2. A powerful and stable Ukraine must be regarded as a major stabilizing force in the European region."

Garber sharply criticizes the position according to which all nuclear weapons on the former USSR's territory must be handed over to Russia. According to him, "this approach is not only naive but is possibly the worst policy imaginable." From his viewpoint, "the transfer of control over the nuclear button to one nation" is not consonant with U.S. security. In sum Garber proposes a balanced policy and that it be utilized as a kind of lever in relations between Russia and Ukraine.

Baker's tour of CIS countries was undertaken with this kind of "lever" in mind. While the CIS foreign ministers are exchanging notes like overseas viziers, the U.S. diplomatic department chief is actually carrying out a mission of inspection and ascertaining the position on the spot. Apart from disarmament problems he is, of course, extremely interested in the geopolitical future both in the center of the former USSR and especially in its outlying areas. The struggle for the new center of world influence is intensifying here. The United States has effectively already joined this struggle. What about us?

Are not Turkey, Iran, and the Near East our natural allies? There are 35 million Muslims in the Asian republics, more than in many Near East countries. Turkey declares itself for all to hear, while there are 50 million Turkic speakers on the former USSR's territory. According to general assessments, by the mid-nineties Iran will become the dominant power not only in the Persian Gulf but throughout the region. Here, at Russia's southern borders, it would also not hurt to create a "zone of trust," especially as Moscow has traditionally had considerable influence in this part of the world. Meanwhile this is, by all accounts, of more interest to Baker than to us.

And one last point: For about six years now foreign policy has been regarded by our leaders as a "magic wand." It was thought that its successes would drown out the voice of dissatisfaction here at home. Today it is not only naive but also dangerous to believe this. The CIS' domestic life has entered the international arena. So, having turned toward the West, we must look back not only at the East. Better still, we should look at ourselves.

Kalugin Admits Involvement in Markov Murder

*LD2002204292 Moscow TASS in English
1933 GMT 20 Feb 92*

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Aleksandr Stepanenko; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Sofia February 20 TASS—Former high-ranking officer of the KGB, Oleg Kalugin, admitted his involvement in the murder of the Bulgarian writer-dissident, Georgy Markov.

Speaking at a news conference after three days of testimony to local bodies investigating the case of Markov's murder in 1978 in London, Kalugin confirmed his earlier statements on the murder of Markov carried out by the Bulgarian special services. According to him, the KGB rendered special services, providing the Bulgarian colleagues with a weapon in the form of "a common fountain pen loaded with poison". Kalugin stressed he "personally bears his share of the responsibility for the organisation of the murder in question".

Kalugin gave the Bulgarian investigation bodies not fewer than ten names of Soviet citizens who allegedly possess information on the issue, including former KGB chairmen, Chebrikov and Kryuchkov. He also advised the Bulgarians to get in touch with the U.S. Government which has certain information on Markov's death received during "questioning of one of numerous traitors—former KGB officers".

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The CRIME-PRESS correspondent asked head of the press bureau of the Russian foreign intelligence service, Yuriy Kobaladze, to comment on the assertions by Kalugin. "I am not surprised Kalugin has begun to work out a new 'fried theme'" [as received], Kobaladze noted. Having tarnished his reputation by statements on interrogations of American prisoners of war in Vietnam by KGB officers, he decided to have his revenge in Bulgaria. It seems there is a direct connection between the "degree of the sensational character" of his statements and the size of the fees he received".

"As for the exposures made by Kalugin in Sofia, I can say as follows: The former and present KGB leadership has repeatedly stated that the Soviet intelligence service had nothing to do with Markov's murder", Kobaladze concluded.

Envoy to EC Silayev on Economy, Ruble Zone

*OW2102104392 Moscow INTERFAX in English
0941 GMT 21 Feb 92*

[“Exclusive” interview with Ivan Silayev, envoy to the EEC, by Yevgeniy Terekhov; place and date not given; from the “Nation & Society” feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Correspondent: What is the West's and the other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] republics' line vis-a-vis Russia?

Ivan Silayev: A difficult question. I believe that the West is in transition, same as us. It gave a fairly active support to a continued existence of the Soviet Union. But its breakup is now a reality, and the West must amend its line. I must say that today there is a broad spectrum of positions. A number of countries say Russia is the linchpin of the Commonwealth, while others bet on Ukraine. All republics are receiving political recognition.

Corr.: Can Russia aspire to a special place in the CIS?

Ivan Silayev: In terms of history, economy and other factors, Russia can hope to become the Commonwealth's leading power. On the other hand, a number of state structures and religious institutions are showing an interest in other CIS countries. Now when the Central Asian region is taking shape, increasingly close contacts are evolving between CIS Muslim states and foreign Islamic countries. This is also a reality.

This is why the West is as yet undecided in its attitude to individual CIS countries. I believe that in the future every CIS state will seek bilateral relations with the European Community and other countries. In fact, I would not jump to the conclusion that the West is stacking the deck against Russia. After all, the West recognized Russia's right to membership in the UN Security Council. This is also a reality. Russia is thereby recognized as a leader in its own right in a number of other spheres as well, but it will take time for things to be sorted out. I believe that time favors Russia.

Corr.: Is it a realistic prospect to keep a common ruble zone in the CIS countries?

Ivan Silayev: It is clear, I gather, that all Commonwealth members stand to benefit from a common ruble zone. At the same time, I wish to remind of the economic community treaty that allows for the existence of republican currencies with a common currency servicing inter-republican trade. I don't believe there are grounds to revise this position. One example is the European Community in which each country has own currency plus all countries share a common currency: the ECU. This situation is normal and natural—on condition that national currencies are introduced on an exact schedule, and relations with the ruble supplier are well-defined. In this case, nothing terrible will happen.

A propos, you will remember how vigorously the Baltics used to support the introduction of national currencies. However, none of the Baltics has taken the actual step—this makes sense, economically. Economic considerations have triumphed over the desire to insist on independence at any cost, and things have returned to normalcy. Processes in the former USSR will presumably move in the same direction as in Europe. By the way, experts claim that integration, including foreign exchange integration, allows the EC to save 35 bn. USD [billion U.S. dollars] annually.

The ruble zone is necessary unless we discard the idea of a common economic space. I believe that heads of CIS governments should move more decisively in this direction at their next meetings.

Corr.: Which of the European countries has priority for Russia?

Ivan Silayev: It depends. If you're asking about the economic potential and willingness to help us with investments, Germany, France and Italy. On the other

hand, the position of a country's leadership is very important. I would not really formulate the question in this way: Who is of most importance for us? Italy is very friendly with us, and now also France.

Corr.: President Yeltsin has repeatedly said that Russia is willing to service the debts of the republics refusing to repay them on their own. Belarus has already asked Russia to repay its debts. Can the Russian Federation really repay all debts, if the worst comes to the worst?

Ivan Silayev: Right. Russia has assumed joint responsibility for eight Commonwealth members. In practice, it accumulates these debts. It seeks to repay the interest while other Commonwealth members are not hurrying or are unable to repay their shares that have been determined very precisely. It is a fact that Russia views its obligations in a more responsible fashion and has the potential to honor them. This is why its economy is burdened both with its own and with other CIS members' debts. I believe that the CIS leaders will appraise this situation more attentively and realize that things go beyond Russia's ambitions: the point is that it shoulders the biggest responsibility of all CIS members and can realistically carry this weight, but it cannot repay all debts. Consequently, the already-signed agreements on joint responsibility must be honored. For example, Ukraine has repeatedly stated its readiness to repay its part of the debts, and it must begin the debt service, i.e., launch direct negotiations with the creditors who extended loans to the former Soviet Union. I wish to emphasize that apart from the desire of a CIS country to repay its debts on its own, an agreement of the lenders is necessary. Economists and heads of governments must figure out the debt situation and determine more exactly the monthly payments each CIS country must make in the service of its debts. Working documents are apparently needed to set the repayment schedule to have the obligations honored.

It should be said that the moment is critical. By agreement with the G-7, the first audit of how debt service is proceeding will take place in March. The agreement specifies that if the G-7 plan falls through, the agreement on deferral of debt service is off.

Corr.: The International Monetary Fund demands that Russia liberalizes oil prices. What do you think of the demand?

Ivan Silayev: I understand the position of the West, including that of the World Bank. They want to see a comprehensive program in place that would cover all aspects in the implementation of the radical reform in Russia. But we cannot rush ahead to tackle this or that individual issue at the beck and call of a world structure. I believe that since the pace of the reform will be one of the most important issues on the agenda of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, the Russian Government will work to submit a comprehensive program tied to the processes under way. I believe that this will be so.

Corr.: Germany refused to comply with our request and pay for the equipment left behind by the military. How do you assess the refusal?

Ivan Silayev: I wouldn't say it was a flat refusal. Simply, the sides made their positions clear. We presented our cost evaluation of what we have done in the GDR. The German side argues, however, that the worth of the inflicted ecological damage exceeds the sum we named. My personal opinion is that politicians and economists should invite independent experts, sit down at the negotiating table and evaluate either side's expenses. I don't think there would be any objections. As a citizen of Russia I would like to secure an additional source of money which we need so badly today. But we should cool our emotions down and look at things objectively. We could involve independent experts of world banks who could help the two sides come to terms. This, I think, is what we'll do.

Corr.: What would you say about Russia's possible membership of the EEC?

Ivan Silayev: It is vitally important. Although, to become an EEC member a country must meet a number of requirements. To begin with, we should implement the basic provisions of the economic reform. Really, our systems, from the customs services, laws and rules to market relations and currency should be compatible. The West, as you know, has already calculated that by 1999 it will fully solve its problems. There will be a uniform currency and the economic borders will have been done away with. We should therefore begin to adjust our economy, laws and standards to those of the EEC. What I mean to say is that it's not enough to make a declaration concerning one's plans. It's much more important to take meaningful steps for integrating our economy with the European economic system. So, we should work hard to attain this particular goal. To do so, however, we should consider this possibility jointly with the leaders of the EEC and think what we might do to make Russia an official candidate for admission. Organizationally, it will take us several years to implement the market reform and do other things that would bring our economy closer to the Western standards.

Corr.: Many speak about the need to introduce a national currency in Russia. Do you think it's really necessary?

Ivan Silayev: I spoke about this already. The biggest problem is that everyone has recognized the importance of a single rouble zone. At the same time, life prompts individual countries to take separate decisions which they consider to be logical and indispensable. As we can see, neither Ukraine nor Belarus have benefited from the introduction of coupons. On the contrary, the situation in those countries and in the CIS as a whole has become even more tense. I think economists, executives, the vice premiers and the premiers, too, should meet once again and decide who should introduce national currencies and when. If there are plans to save the rouble zone for

interstate dealings, which is quite logical, we should either cut the circulation of the old rouble short and replace it with something new, or strengthen the current rouble. The recent changes in the dollar to rouble exchange rate inspires optimism. I think that today the independent states are closer to mutual understanding, because the current rigorous economic life prompts that we do need a rouble zone. I think that if the CIS economists evaluate the consequences of the rouble crisis once again they will definitely state that we shall only survive if we strengthen the rouble.

Petrovskiy Takes U.N. Deputy Position

*OW1402193992 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1417 GMT 14 Feb 92*

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov, Igor Porshnev, and others from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The secretariat of Vladimir Petrovskiy has confirmed that the former Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister was appointed U.N. Deputy Secretary General for political issues. Together with another U.N. Deputy Secretary General for political issues, James John of Sierra Leone, he will take office on March 1.

At the moment V. Petrovskiy is in New York. Next week he is to come back to Moscow. Subsequently he will return to the headquarters of the world community to perform his new duties.

Central Bank Head in Vienna Remarks on Economy

*AU2002165192 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio
Network in German 1100 GMT 20 Feb 92*

[Report by Herbert Hutar on lecture by Georgiy Matyukin, head of the Russian Central Bank, in Vienna; date not given—passages within quotation marks recorded; Matyukin statements in English with superimposed German translation]

[Text] Georgiy Matyukin, head of the Russian Central Bank, speaks of the very serious difficulties of the Russian economy. Last year the national income declined by more than 11 percent. The budget deficit amounts to 20 percent of the economic performance of the gigantic republic—in comparison: in Austria the deficit amounts to 3 percent of the country's economic performance. Last year the inflation rate was 20 percent. And:

[Matyukin] "Only some days ago at a government meeting we noted that in January prices were 3.5 times as high as last year."

Georgiy Matyukin says that this would not have been necessary, and he is not sparing with criticism of the government:

[Matyukin] "The position of the Central Bank was that first we would have had to destroy the state monopolies

to create competition. We would have had to privatize first, and, in the course of the development, prices would have been liberalized then. But the government's position was to start with the liberalization of prices."

Now, however, it is necessary to steer a cautious course together with the government so as to prevent social unrest.

Next he commented on the relationships among the republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. No one knows who owes what to whom, who could use some assets where, he says. Money was distributed in the following way:

[Matyukin] "It depended: When the leader of a republic came to Moscow, he first embraced the leader of the Union, kissed him, and then received a big chunk out of the money bag. The next one, who was not so skillful, received only a small chunk."

Central Bank Chief Matyukin also warns Ukraine against economic secession from the CIS. The complete economic interdependence of the republics continues to exist; none of the republics would have the smallest chance of holding its own in the Western markets.

In conclusion, he comments on the foreign debts and on the reasons Russia and the other successor states of the Soviet Union cannot repay any debts at the moment and why the Foreign Trade Bank has gone bankrupt.

[Matyukin] "The position of the Foreign Trade Bank was unique from a historical point of view. In fact, it was controlled exclusively by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and by the USSR premier himself. This was the real reason why this bank went bankrupt, because it had to obey the premier's orders to send money to this or that place."

In painful, detailed work a Central Bank commission now has to gather the figures and put some order into the chaos that the communists left.

[Matyukin] "As soon as we have reliable information about the situation of this Foreign Trade Bank, we will change our position radically, and then our possibilities of paying foreign debts will also change. We will resume all payments that have to be made in accordance with the contracts."

Urges Repatriation of Foreign Reserves

AU2102104392 Vienna DER STANDARD
in German 21 Feb 92 p 19

[Report on interview with Russian Central Bank President Georgiy Matyukhin by Guenter Baburek; place and date not given: "Matyukhin Believes the Ruble Will Stabilize Before the End of the Year"]

[Text] Vienna—Russian Central Bank President Georgiy Matyukhin said in a DER STANDARD interview that many problems of his country could be

resolved by the repatriation of foreign exchange reserves that are deposited in the West. According to estimates, they amount to 25 billion dollars. He said that these foreign exchange reserves, which come from export earnings, are abroad illegally because the Foreign Affairs Bank (Vneshekonombank) was bypassed. "We hope for understanding of the Western governments and banks, which would have to help us repatriate the money," said Matyukhin, indicating that he would ask for legal aid.

The Vneshekonombank, which handled all transactions between the Soviet Union and other countries, will in the future only be an agency for the debt service, said Matyukhin. The tasks of taking over guarantees and carrying out credit operations will be assigned to another bank. A third bank will be responsible for commercial business.

Matyukhin described the Vneshekonombank's role as unique. It was exclusively controlled by the Politburo and by the prime minister and distributed money on the basis of political criteria. "This was also the reason it went bankrupt." Since no exact figures are available on the bank, a committee installed by the Russian Central Bank is now trying to shed some light on the matter.

Matyukhin stressed that "the Russian Central Bank will take over some of the functions of the Vneshekonombank. Among other things, it will become the only shareholder of the Vienna-based Donaubank, 60 percent of which belongs to Vneshekonombank and 40 percent to the State Bank (Gosbank). Whether shares will be issued to other central banks of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] at a later date, will depend on whether these CIS central banks take part in servicing the former Soviet Union's foreign debts. At present, the Russian Central Bank is responsible for repaying the debts.

Matyukhin stakes great hopes on Russia's membership within the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which could be completed by April this year. A statement of intent to this effect will be signed in Moscow next week. Membership within the IMF, which Matyukhin hopes will above all entail comprehensive technological aid, would help deepen relations with the West and would help Russia resolve some of its problems more quickly.

According to Matyukhin, one of the Central Bank's most important tasks is the stabilization of the currency and the development of a banking system. He hopes to make the ruble convertible within the CIS by the end of this year. He is trying to achieve an exchange rate of between 20 and 25 rubles per U.S. dollar for financial transactions, and for foreign investments a ratio of 10 to one.

Matyukhin said that initial stabilization successes have already been achieved by relatively modest means. The Central Bank's interventions did not exceed a volume of about 5 million dollars. The exchange rate increased from 230 rubles per dollar some weeks ago to 70 rubles now.

Assures Debt Repayment*LL2002221292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 2100 GMT 20 Feb 92*

[Text] Russia is fully capable of repaying its debts to foreign creditors, said Matyukhin, chairman of the board of the Russian Central Bank, who is in Vienna. To carry this out, he feels it is necessary to look into the deeds of the bankrupted USSR Vneshekonombank, which serviced the foreign debts. After this takes place, an objective possibility will evolve to repay the debts. We would like to remind you that the former USSR owes its creditors, according to various data, \$60-80 billion.

Forces Slated for UN Contingent in Croatia*PM1702143192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1*

[Report by Gennadiy Charodeyev: "Russian Troops Under UN Blue Flag?"]

[Text] The United Nations has begun forming peace-keeping forces in Yugoslavia, which will comprise military contingents from 31 countries.

In a telegram from New York, REUTER announced that troops under the UN blue flag will number up to 13,000 servicemen. They will be stationed in those regions of Croatia where there is a dense Serbian population. The forces are tasked with helping to prevent military action between the rival sides.

The inclusion of Russia for the first time in the number of countries to be represented in the peacekeeping forces is attracting some attention. Commenting upon the REUTER report, a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman noted:

"So far, nobody has approached us with a request to send a military contingent to Yugoslavia as part of the UN forces. Such an application is usually made by the UN Secretariat. Only when this request is approved by the Russian Parliament can a battalion-strong contingent be sent to Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, it is being decided in Moscow whether or not the servicemen will be drawn from active military service or from the reserves. The usual period for serving in the 'blue berets' ranges from six months to a year.

"Furthermore, Russian legislators could react cautiously to any request by the UN Secretariat," the Foreign Ministry spokesman suggested. "After the war in Afghanistan, everybody is naturally concerned about the security of our soldiers and officers. But it is the usual practice for UN military contingents to be armed only with light small-arms weapons, and they are never first to open fire. Soldiers and officers are permitted to fire only in the event of there being a direct threat to their lives, and even this rule must be preceded by a whole range of precautionary measures."

Delay Over Croatian Recognition Assessed*PM2002101192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5*

[Report by Boris Rodionov: "Note Recognizing Croatia Handed Over at Last"]

[Text] The wheels of Russian diplomacy continue to turn slowly. As long ago as 31 January, during his visit to the United States, the Russian president reported the upcoming recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. An official announcement about this was expected within days. Yuriy Deryabin, the president's special representative, set out without delay for Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana to prepare the ground for the important diplomatic act. But it was only on 17 February that Yuriy Girenko, Russia's consul general in Zagreb, finally handed the Russian Foreign Ministry note recognizing Croatia's independence to Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia.

To all appearances, however, it is not just traditional Russian sluggishness that accounts for the delay over implementing the decision announced by Boris Yeltsin. The delay is linked with two important factors. First, the statement that Yeltsin made on the other side of the ocean evidently did not make any special impression on the Washington White House and the State Department. The United States has still not announced its recognition of the "rebel" Yugoslav republics, not at all concerned that it will end up among the "laggards." Knowing its weight in Europe and the world today, Washington can afford this. But Moscow? I doubt it....

Belgrade's stormy reaction was undoubtedly the second important factor accounting for Russia's tardiness. It took people in the Serbian and federal capital some time to realize that Moscow's step does not signify some dramatic shifting of its priorities or even a betrayal of Russia's age-old friends—Serbia and Montenegro. This step signifies recognition of the new realities with which Belgrade too has now been forced grudgingly to reckon. This was evidenced both by its acceptance of the Vance plan and by its recent decision to set up on a treaty basis a "truncated" federation comprising Serbia and Montenegro, which would be the legal successor to the former Yugoslavia.

Personally accepting Russia's note, the Croatian president voiced the conviction that Moscow's diplomatic recognition of his independent republic will give "an important boost" to the peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. It is impossible to disagree with this.

A full-fledged diplomatic presence in Zagreb and Ljubljana is extremely important to Russia itself from the viewpoint of its role not only in the Balkans but also in Central Europe.

At the same time I would like to hope that it is not a question of Moscow's reorientation from Belgrade to Zagreb! Or of the Croatian "national patriots" being

dearer to Moscow today than the Serbian "neocommunists." Seeing the deideologization of international relations through to the end and strengthening Russia's shaky positions in the Balkans and in Central Europe, Russian diplomacy must act circumspectly, but quickly.

Far East Symposium Stresses Military Conversion

*OW2102040992 Moscow Radio Moscow
in Japanese 1300 GMT 19 Feb 92*

[Text] In Vladivostok, a port city in the Far East, a joint Japanese-Russian symposium was held to discuss the conversion of the military industry to civilian production. The Japanese delegation at the symposium was led by Vice Minister Yukiharu Kodama of the International Trade and Industry Ministry. At the symposium, some participants proposed that military plants in Russia produce goods using Japanese parts and export to Japan part of the goods produced at the plants.

Japanese 'Positively Assesses' Moscow Meeting

*LD1702000392 Moscow TASS in English
0903 GMT 14 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo February 14 TASS—"Japan positively assesses the results of the Russian-Japanese working teams' discussion of the peace treaty, which took place in Moscow this week," Press Secretary of the Japanese Foreign Ministry Masamichi Hanabusa told a briefing for foreign journalists here today.

"Although no obvious progress has been made towards the solution of the territorial problem, which exists in relations between Russia and Japan," he noted, "the Japanese side was impressed by the sincere desire of the Russians to settle the issue. Moscow's intention is borne out, specifically, by the Russian side's statement that it shares Tokyo's view on the history and legal aspect of the issue".

Tokyo is optimistic about the planned active schedule of diplomatic contacts between Japan and Russia. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is expected in Tokyo on March 20. Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe will visit Moscow in May-June. Russian President is expected to come to Japan in mid-September.

"The Japanese side also attaches importance to the fact," Hanabusa noted, "that the Russian side has reaffirmed during the meeting that, as legal successor of the USSR, it assumes the commitments arising from all the treaties and agreements concluded between the USSR and Japan".

'Swiftest Solution' to Kurils Issue Sought

*PM1402163992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4*

[Report by Aleksandr Anichkin and Gennadiy Charodeyev, with comments by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze under general headline: "It Is Now Easier for Japan To Deal With Moscow, But No Progress to Date on Territorial Issue"]

[Text] A session of the working party preparing a peace treaty between Russia and Japan has been held in Moscow over two days. The increased attention paid to its work was due to the fact that a visit to Japan by Russian President Yeltsin is planned for September. Foreign Ministers Andrey Kozyrev and Michio Watanabe will make reciprocal visits in advance of this. It is planned that the Russian minister will visit Tokyo 20-22 March.

Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito, who heads the Japanese delegation in the subgroup dealing with the territorial question, noted that the talks in the working party were marked by a "very serious and constructive" approach. In conversation with your correspondents the Japanese diplomat noted that, according to his impression, the Russian participants in the talks are sincerely seeking the swiftest solution to a painful problem in Russian-Japanese relations—the dispute over the South Kuril islands. In Saito's opinion, now, when Russia and Japan "share common values and aims," the attitude toward the settlement of bilateral relations is far more positive than it was. He agreed with the suggestion of one journalist that it is easier for the Japanese side to deal with Moscow when a democratic leadership is in power here.

The Japanese side, Kunihiko Saito remarked, has noted with satisfaction that, although there has been no progress on the central question of recognizing Japanese sovereignty over the islands, the Russian participants in the talks did not this time object to a number of historical arguments advanced by Tokyo to support its position. This relates, in particular, to the assessment of the Russian-Japanese Treaties of 1855 and 1875 as having been concluded as a result of a peace negotiation process based on the goodwill of both sides. Under the first of these treaties the border was drawn north of the disputed part of the Kuril chain. Under the second treaty all the Kuril islands went to Japan in exchange for recognition of Russian sovereignty over Sakhalin. The traditional claim by the Japanese that on renouncing rights to the Kuril Islands at the 1951 San Francisco Conference Tokyo did not include the "northern territories" now passed without the usual rejoinder.

The deputy foreign minister stressed that the Japanese side will in the future be ready to show flexibility and make mutually acceptable compromises if the Russian side recognizes that the ultimate aim of the talks is recognition of Japanese sovereignty over the Kurils.

Saito also touched on the provision of financial aid for Russia. This question was to have been resolved by the G-7 back in April. Japan, as the country which possesses the greatest financial potential, is under strong pressure from the other G-7 members. However, in the diplomat's opinion, the Japanese Government will find it extremely difficult to convince parliament of the need for large-scale financial aid to Russia if there is no progress in the solution of the territorial problem.

Here follows the opinion of Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze on the results of the talks with the Japanese deputy foreign minister:

"The Russian side started making headway in these talks back last September. [Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Chairman] R. Khasbulatov paid a visit to Tokyo at that time and conveyed a message from President Yeltsin. That document articulated for the first time the basic formulas with which we now operate at the talks with Japan. First, we stated that Russia intends to solve the territorial problem on the basis of legality and justice. Second, as the message pointed out, Russia no longer regards relations with Japan as relations between victor and vanquished in World War II. The process of rapprochement of our positions continues. Everything is proceeding normally, according to schedule.

"As far as the current round of talks is concerned, I would not wish to overestimate its significance, since the Japanese and we understand each other, and have done so very well for a long time. Therefore the meeting in Moscow was one of many ordinary, working meetings. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that there is a pretty high degree of continuity in foreign policy on both the Japanese and our sides.

"The list of items on the agenda, and the approach to it, are pretty traditional. For us the problem of finally legally enshrining the line of the border is primary. For the Japanese, however, it is the problem of the territories which remains to the fore. And they intend to fix the borders only after the solution of that problem.

"The sides exchanged opinions on preparation for the Russian president's visit to Japan and on the kind of agreements and accords which could be concluded there. Questions connected with preparation for the implementation of the agreement on reciprocal visa-free visits by Japanese to the islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan, and Habomai, and by the inhabitants of the latter to Japan, were also examined," Kunadze said in conclusion.

Kurils Visa Regulations Policy Examined

*LD1902213492 Moscow TASS in English
1000 GMT 19 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo February 19—The first group of residents of the south part of four islands of the Kuril range will

visit the northern Japanese Island of Hokkaido in April this year, the ASAHI newspaper reported today quoting Japanese Government circles. This will give a start to Russo-Japanese without visa travel between the islands of the "Northern Territories" and Japan, proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Tokyo in April 1991.

The final decision about the without visa travel programme, as expected, will be taken in the forthcoming meeting between representatives of the Sakhalin and Hokkaido authorities, foreign departments of Russia and Japan, scheduled for 20 February. The first meeting of this kind, giving a practical start to the negotiations for putting into practise travel of South Kuril residents to Japan and Japanese citizens to Sakhalin Province opened in Southern Sakhalinsk on 17 February.

Information Minister Seeks 'Bridge' With ROK

*LD1702131892 Moscow TASS in English
1115 GMT 17 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Zakharchenko and Oleg Abramkin]

[Text] Seoul February 17 TASS—Russian Minister for the Press and Information Mikhail Poltoranin arrived here for a six-day official visit today at the invitation of the government of the Republic of Korea. He will have talks with his South Korean counterpart—Minister for Information Choe Chang-yun—on problems of promoting information exchanges between the two countries and developing cooperation among journalists.

The Russian minister will also meet press secretary of the South Korean President Kim Hak-chun, will visit the demilitarised zone which divides the Korean peninsula in half, will familiarise himself with preparations for the world "Expo 93" exhibition, which is to be held in South Korea, will meet South Korean mass media leaders. This is the first visit by a Russian mass media representative to South Korea at the level of government member.

"The main purpose of the visit," Poltoranin told ITAR-TASS upon arriving in Seoul, "is to establish an information 'bridge' between the Republic of Korea and Russia, which will help the peoples of our two countries get a better idea about each other and understand one another better. Concrete preparations will be made to sign an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of information to remove still existing obstacles to more active journalistic exchanges.

"In keeping with a decree issued by President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation," Poltoranin said, "an international press institute is now being set up in Russia. South Korean journalists could take part in its work or teach there. They could also attend lectures there by prominent Soviet political scientists and economists. This could help them get a deeper insight into the problems now confronting Russia."

One more task is to attract South Korean investment to various sectors of Russian industry, which could contribute to the development of mass information. For instance, South Korean capital could be used to set up a large plant to produce offset paints. Such an enterprise is planned to be built in Omsk. This project could be launched as an international joint-stock company. The Russian side will also offer the South Korea [as received] to cooperate in the production of audiovisual equipment on CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] defence enterprises that are now being switched over to produce civilian goods.

DPRK Press Calls Correspondent 'Subversive'

PM2002114592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 92 p 5

[Report by "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Group for the Study of Chuche Ideas," followed by ITAR-TASS "Stop Press" report under the rubric "Exposures?": "Water Off A Duck's Back"]

[Text] The gaze of progressive mankind is nowadays riveted on Pyongyang. The North Korean capital's streets and parks are festively decorated. Tomorrow is the birthday of the "dear leader."

From the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA dossier: "Dear leader"—that is how Kim Chong-il, member of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee Presidium, secretary of the Central Committee, and supreme commander in chief of the Armed Forces, is affectionately known among the people. He is the son and successor of the "great leader." He was born 16 February 1942. According to the official version—in a secret camp of anti-Japanese partisans in the region of Mount Paektu (North Korea). According to the unofficial version—in a small settlement near Khabarovsk.

The mood of our newspaper's staff, uplifted in connection with this event, was unexpectedly and disagreeably clouded, just as we were preparing to join in the congratulations. North Korea's competent organs forwarded to the editors via KCNA channels a news report bearing the hallmarks of an exposure. The report that "a subversive element, which stops at nothing, has entrenched itself in the collective" provoked anger and indignation. The document claims that KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's correspondent A. Platkovskiy, who was on assignment for the newspaper in the DPRK from 1987 to 1990 "finds himself a prisoner of the way of thinking which posits that 'gold is a universal agent,' and possesses a degenerate attitude to morality. This is why he writes articles contradicting the realities of our country, receiving money from someone in the hope of escaping from a difficult situation."

Curious facts are cited to corroborate this conclusion. "On 2 September 1990, at a bus stop near the conservatory in East Pyongyang, he incited gatherers to 'insurrection': 'Why is there no opposition organization in Korea?' he said. But in Korea there can be no incident

which might serve as 'sensational material.' Therefore it is not interesting to work as a correspondent here. At this point he met with a rebuff, and resorted to flight, having covered himself in shame."

The article reports other compromising facts. They throw light on the moral character of a writer "specializing in the publication of mudslinging articles against us." The idea which is voiced very colorfully and convincingly in the article is: "As the saying goes, 'it's like water off a duck's back'—no outrageous statement can possibly surprise or alarm us."

Reading these things, we could not restrain ourselves from asking A. Platkovskiy with some feeling what he thought about this and whether he intended, having drawn the relevant conclusions, to cease publication of his "mudslinging articles." We were not surprised to hear the "subversive element" accusing the competent North Korean organs of "dealing in fabrications and blatant blackmail, trying to put psychological pressure on an independent journalist."

As you can see, our colleague does not want to see reason—wrongly. After all, the document from Pyongyang contains a serious warning that "only a few incidents have been published." If he continues in the same vein, "other material will be presented."

Taking advantage of this opportunity, we wish to express gratitude to the officials of the relevant DPRK organs for their timely warning, and also to congratulate them on the birthday of the "dear leader."

Stop Press

The last obstacles hindering DPRK President Kim Il-song's transfer of absolute power in the country to his son Kim Chong-il have been removed. This is the conclusion drawn by KYODO, reporting a Pyongyang radio commentary which openly declared that opponents of this step and the legality of the inheritance of power had been "routed."

The report, received in Tokyo on 13 February, said in particular that "the dear leader Kim Chong-il has routed the conspiracy of the filthy elements which had been trying to introduce ideas incompatible with the anti-Japanese revolution, and has thereby upheld the purity of that revolution." "Thanks to the wisdom and ideological activeness of his fresh and outstanding leadership, the traditions of the revolution, as laid down by the great leader Kim Il-song, will receive further development," the report stressed.

Sino-Soviet Accord of 1991 Awaits Ratification

LD2002151192 Moscow TASS in English
1415 GMT 20 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Sorokin]

[Text] Beijing February 20 TASS—Hearings on the question of ratifying a Sino-Soviet agreement, signed in

Moscow in May 1991, on the Sino-Soviet state border in its eastern sector, began here today at a meeting of the standing committee of the National People's Congress (parliament). Tian Zengpei, Chinese deputy minister of foreign affairs, gave explanations concerning the text of the agreement.

He said in particular that the submitted document had been drawn up on the strength of treaties on the border between China and the former Soviet Union and corresponded to the universally recognised principles and norms of international law. "The agreement creates favourable conditions to ensure stability in the two countries' border areas and normal development of Sino-Russian relations," the deputy minister emphasised.

The committee decided that the parliament's regular, fifth, session of the seventh convocation will begin in exactly one month's time, on March 20. The members of parliament will hear a report by the premier of China's Council of State on the work of the government, discuss and endorse a plan for the socio-economic development of China and a budget for 1992.

The agenda of the future two-weeks-long session will include the consideration of a number of bills and a "three gorges" project to build a series of hydropower stations and water reservoirs in the middle reaches of Yangtze River.

Talks Resulting in Release of POW's Reviewed

*LD1802231992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1830 GMT 15 Feb 92*

[Report by correspondent Rustan Galiulin]

[Text] Our correspondent in Islamabad describes the results of the talks in Pakistan between a Russian parliamentary delegation and Afghan opposition leader Borhanoddin Rabbani.

[Galiulin] These very difficult talks ended with a formal release of three prisoners of war, two of whom remained faithful to their earlier decision not to return home. (Kazimir Matos) and (Abdul Karimov) emphasized in their statements that they remained faithful to the struggle of the mujahidin and that they would return to Uzbekistan only as soldiers of victorious Islam. Even their fathers' arrival in Islamabad and the two days they spent together in hours of conversation failed to break their resolve.

The mujahidin who know (Yermakov) intimated to me that he would never return for the simple reason that he would be unable to enter his native village, where it is known that he fought on the side of the mujahidin, gun in hand.

The second part of the talks between the Russian and Uzbek parliamentary delegations and the opposition

leaders was tense. Borhanoddin Rabbani argued persistently that despite Russia's public decision to stop arms and fuel deliveries to Kabul as of 1 January 1992, the deliveries were continuing, but now from the territory of Uzbekistan. He alleged that Moscow failed to keep its pledges and failed to ensure a transition of power from Najibollah to a provisional Islamic government. It is Rabbani's contention that Uzbekistan, as a Muslim country, should not give any assistance at all to Afghanistan.

His words were received here as absurd, even more so because all this took place in a situation contradicted by the facts and despite the assurances of the delegation members, which also included a representative of the Russian Defense Ministry, that supplies of arms and fuel for military purposes had ceased not on 1 January 1992 but 15 days before that date, even before Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's visit to Pakistan.

The talks were favorably influenced by a report that Kabul released nine prisoners of war, five of whom are Pakistanis, as a goodwill gesture and in response to an appeal by Benon Sevan, special representative of the UN secretary general, who is now in Kabul. It was Sevan who announced that an inter-Afghan dialogue was to begin in April. Those who are sincerely interested in resolving the Afghan problem strive for this dialogue. The results of the visit to Pakistan by the Russian and Uzbek parliamentary delegation are, without a doubt, a step, albeit a modest one, toward this dialogue.

Kuwaiti Economic Delegation Meets in Moscow

*LD1602130492 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic
1907 GMT 15 Feb 92*

[Excerpts] Moscow, 15 Feb (KUNA)—[passage omitted] Minister al-Ridan met with the chairman of the experts committee at the Russian Council of Ministers and discussed with him a number of political and economic issues, and ways for changing the Russian economy from a centralized to a free market economy. [passage omitted]

Badr al-Hamidh, director general of the Kuwaiti Fund, and a number of officials from the General Investment Corporation and the University of Kuwait met with officials from the Institute of Scientific Research at the "League of Foreign Policy", headed by former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, which specializes in preparing consultative studies on investment projects.

The Kuwaiti delegation discussed with Mr. Boughous Akobouth the executive chairman of the League [name and title as received], who is a former ambassador of the Soviet Union to Kuwait, "a number of projects and proposals in which Kuwait can take part".

On another level, the Kuwaiti delegation's scientific team resumed its activity by conducting a visit the Russian Academy of Sciences and Moscow University to

discuss means of cooperation in the peaceful scientific spheres in connection with pollution, the search for water, and [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Later, Minister al-Ridan received the Kazakhstan deputy prime minister for economic affairs and reviewed issues of mutual interest. They also discussed preparations for the Kuwaiti delegation's visit to Kazakhstan on 27 February.

Pledges To Meet All Obligations

OW1402174492 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1405 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] For all the difficulties facing Kuwait in the wake of the Gulf war it intends to abide by all previous agreements, including those concerning the extension of credits to Russia, Kuwaiti finance minister Nasir 'Abdallah al-Ridan told Russian leaders. He told IF [INTERFAX] after his talks with Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar in Moscow Thursday [13 February] that they considered giving a boost to the bilateral economic cooperation, including oil production.

The Kuwaiti minister arrived in Moscow Wednesday night to discuss prospects of bilateral economic relations and possibilities of extending humanitarian aid to Russia.

Swedish Minister Sees End To 'Neutrality'

MK2002084492 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 4

[Interview with Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha Ugglas by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent Yuriy Sigov; date not given: "Diplomacy: 'Sweden Will No Longer Be Neutral,' Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha Ugglas Said in Interview With NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Correspondent"]

[Excerpt] Stockholm-Moscow—[Sigov] For decades Sweden was traditionally considered a neutral state, which enabled it to avoid being involved in the destructive world wars. Is there any point in today's policy of neutrality for Sweden now that the confrontation between the rival military blocs has disappeared from the world and Russia and the United States are becoming allies?

[Ugglas] For a long time neutral status did indeed bring Sweden considerable dividends. But now the situation is changing radically. A declaration was signed in Paris enshrining the supremacy of unified democratic values for all European states. On this basis Sweden is striving to join the united Europe and become a member of the EC. Accordingly the foundations of our security policy are also changing.

We can no longer take a neutral view of what is going on around us, above all in Europe. Sweden will be an open,

flexible state, but it will not join military alliances. Defense is Sweden's internal concern alone. In other areas Sweden will be active and influential, both in Europe and in international affairs.

[Sigov] Sweden is known for its long-standing commitment to the ideals of social democracy. Do you think that the "Swedish socialist experiment" has been done away with forever following the coalition government's coming to power last year?

[Ugglas] There is some misconception in your country regarding the essence of "Swedish socialist ideals." In actual fact they differ in many respects from those on which socialist ideology was based in the former USSR. A "people's monopoly" based on excessively collectivist thinking existed in Sweden under the Social Democrats. People enjoyed tremendous benefits at the state's expense: pension provisioning and funding of children's and medical establishments. On coming to power the conservatives decided to do away with the "socialist monopoly."

We have endeavored to create a society in Sweden with a civic, human face rather than a state face. Thus it is the foundations of "Swedish state socialism" rather than "East European or Soviet-style socialism" that are now changing in Sweden.

[Sigov] Since the Soviet Union has ceased to exist, a large proportion of the states within it, including Russia, have renounced the old "Soviet-style socialism." What are the immediate prospects here for the development of Swedish-Russian relations?

[Ugglas] Sweden's incumbent coalition government wants to actively develop relations with the Russian democratic government. I have no regrets that the Soviet Union is no more: New states have formed in its place and Sweden is interested in cooperating with them. During my recent visit to Moscow I expressed the Swedish leadership's support for the Russian reforms. Two areas are most likely now for developing Swedish-Russian ties: political (contacts and mutual visits are already happening) and economic (but for this to occur an agreement must be signed as soon as possible on protection for Swedish and mixed investment in Russia). I see no obstacles that could prevent Sweden and Russia from cooperating normally at this stage.

[Sigov] With which other states in the former USSR does Sweden intend to develop relations in the near future?

[Ugglas] Above all with our neighbors—the Baltic republics. A Swedish Embassy will open shortly in Kiev. There are plans to increase the "Swedish presence" in Belarus. A group of experts from Stockholm is to tour the republics of Central Asia in the near future. As for opening Swedish missions in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], that depends on whether we are given budgetary funds.

[Sigov] Is Sweden providing financial and food aid at this difficult time for the economy of the former Soviet Union's republics?

[Ugglas] Sweden has set up a special foundation to aid the states of Eastern Europe and the former USSR, for which 1 billion kronor per year will be earmarked over the next three years. We do not have major financial resources to help you, but there is a chance of cooperating with Russia, for instance, in the sphere of technology, know-how, and management.

The CIS states and the Baltic are also receiving humanitarian aid from Sweden. This is mainly in the form of foodstuffs, medicine, and fruit drinks for babies. Some people think that Sweden is not helping Russia and the Baltics enough because it does not want them to increase and prosper. I want to remark here that it is very important for Sweden that these Baltic states grow rich as soon as possible. Many Swedes—private individuals and representatives of firms and companies—want to help the Balts and invest money in developing their economy. But it is bound to take some time before any crucial actions begin in order to determine the priorities for aid and the amount of aid.

[Sigov] How does the Swedish leadership evaluate the decrease in tension in the Baltic area due to the incipient CIS troop withdrawal from Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia?

[Ugglas] Sweden of course welcomed the end of the USSR-U.S. "cold war" and the disappearance of the Soviet military threat to the peoples of Europe. But there are still many problems—above all nuclear guarantees from the former Soviet Union (and its rightful successor, Russia), the conversion of military production, and cuts in the army—and they could cause serious social tension in the CIS states.

As for the Soviet troop withdrawal from the territory of the Baltic states, Sweden considers this essential and inevitable. But we also realize the material difficulties that this will cause above all for the Russian Government. That is why, in conjunction with Denmark, Sweden is willing to take part in resolving the problem of building housing on Russian territory for servicemen leaving the Baltic. [passage omitted]

Transportation Agreement With Lithuania Adopted

OW1302181492 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1340 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On February 11 the Russian Government adopted a draft agreement between Russia and Lithuania on cooperation in the sphere of transportation. Corresponding Russian ministries have been ordered to hold talks with the Lithuanian side. Russian Transportation

Minister V. Ephimov has been charged with composing a delegation and signing the agreement on behalf of the Russian Government.

The agreement envisages preservation of the present international transportation regulations established by the former Soviet Union, creation of favorable conditions for transport of the other side in both countries, exemption from taxes and duties for maintaining roads, etc.

Troops Leaving Poland in 'Full Combat Strength'

PM1802144092 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Bugay from the Northern Group of Forces under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Division Leaves Poland, Keeping Its Title and Combat Banners"]

[Text] Units of the Guards Vitebsk-Novgorod Twice Red Banner Motorized Infantry Division, formed in the Tambov region in the terrible days of fall 1941, have begun returning to Russia.

The first to arrive home was a specially formed and carefully selected operations group, which, in conjunction with Moscow Military District military construction workers, is to prepare a base for housing the personnel and servicemen's families at their new station. This subunit, which is headed by Colonel V. Sagalayev, deputy commander of the division, is equipped with everything necessary for construction and maintenance work.

It should be noted that the division is leaving Poland at full combat strength. It is one of the few troop formations being withdrawn from the group of forces to keep its title and its combat banners. In view of this, the Northern Group of Forces command has taken every possible step to man the division with the most highly skilled officers and warrant officers. The arms and equipment of the units and subunits have been replaced with the latest, most sophisticated models.

Economic Commission Opens Talks in Bonn

LD1802131892 Moscow TASS in English
1234 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Bonn February 18 TASS—The first meeting of the Russian-German Commission for Economic Cooperation, which opened today in the suburbs of Bonn, shall focus primarily on the expansion of bilateral contacts. The Russian delegation is led by First Deputy Minister for Economy and Finances Alexander Nechayev. Taking part in the negotiations from the German side is State Secretary of the German Ministry for Economics Dieter von Wuerzen, representatives of German unions of businessmen and other business circles.

Besides the problem of encouraging direct commercial and economic contracts among manufacturers in both countries, the meeting is expected to discuss also the possibility of German consultative assistance to the Russian Government. It is believed here that the experience accumulated by Germany may be very useful for the success of the radical reforms under way in the Russian Federation.

Chairman of the Committee for Eastern Economy Otto Wolf von Amerongen welcomed the talks, saying that they should usher in a new stage in German-Russian relations. At the same time, he said that the expansion of German investment in Russian economy was throttled primarily by the lack of a clear-cut legislation. "However, if Moscow honours its payment obligations, it will be possible to extend state guarantees to the credits granted to it," von Amerongen stated.

Federation Affairs

Rutskoy Hopes To Receive 'Additional Powers'

MK2002093092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by Yevgeniy Krasnikov: "Appointment: Rutskoy Ready To Tackle Agriculture, But Requests Additional Powers"]

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy may share Yegor Ligachev's fate. A draft decree by Boris Yeltsin "On the Powers of the Vice President" is now ready. According to this document, Rutskoy's main and basic duty is to be concerned with agriculture.

Rutskoy's entourage believes that the draft does not provide the requisite powers for implementing such a difficult task, and that the vice president's adversaries are hoping to use this to secure his resignation. So Rutskoy's office has prepared an alternative draft decree whereby the vice president would receive additional powers: He could use conversion technologies and money obtained as a result of the cuts in the armed forces to boost agriculture. In addition, appropriate local administrations would be transferred to his jurisdiction.

Rutskoy's supporters hope that if their version of the presidential decree is ratified, the vice president will have a chance of success. Since last fall Rutskoy has been studying the possibility of using conversion technologies on small private farms in the Moscow area. The vice president also expects that former servicemen discharged from the Army as a result of cuts in the armed forces could play a considerable role in boosting agriculture.

Nevertheless, according to information obtained from circles close to the Russian leadership, it is most likely that the first version of the presidential decree will be adopted, and this means that Rutskoy will continue to be out of favor.

Rutskoy Sets Out Economic Reform Program

LD2002114792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1000 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy, vice president of Russia, has again stated that the present government's steps into the market are chaotic and even unprincipled, if one takes into account the disastrous social situation in which pensioners and children find themselves. In an interview for the RIKA agency, he set out his program of economic reform. Its main ideas are that an inventory should be compiled of all real estate in Russia, that valuable shares should be issued in the amount of its value, and that these shares should be distributed without charge to pensioners and labor veterans and sold to the remainder of the population. Simultaneously with this privatization land and finance reforms should be carried out and convertibility of the ruble should be achieved. The Russian vice president considers that if these steps are not taken in the next two days the republic's economy will go into a spin of the kind that it will be extremely difficult to get out of.

Gaydar on 'Mass Discontent,' Coup Threats

LD1702154392 Moscow TASS in English
1350 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitry Pollunin]

[Text] Rome February 17 TASS—Yegor Gaydar, deputy premier of the Russian Government, is convinced that the economic reform in Russia has become irreversible. "I am convinced that a return to the economy that was based on planned distribution and shortages is impossible", Gaydar said in an interview to the Italian newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA. The interview is published by the newspaper on Monday [17 February].

Asked if a coup can be attempted in Russia again, Gaydar said he does not think that the threat cannot be averted.

"If it were not for the failure of the August putsch that dispelled the belief in the possibility of resolving the economic crisis through a military coup, this threat would be real", Gaydar said.

As to the possibility of manifestations of mass discontent over many-fold price increases, the deputy premier said it was avoided for the reason that people have much more common sense than they were credited with.

Gaydar said that Russia will need this year 4-5 billion dollars to pay the interest on the foreign debt of the former Soviet Union and that 5-6 billion dollars are needed to form the fund for stabilizing the rouble. Gaydar believes Russia can receive these funds as foreign credits upon its entry to the International Monetary fund which he believes to be a matter of two or three months.

At the same time, "in shaping our economic policy we do not count on large aid by the West. We believe that we must be solving problems of our economy independently", Gaydar said. "We embarked on reforms not because we wished to please anyone, but for the reason that we had no other choice", he said. "And we shall carry out the reforms with the West's aid or without it", he said. But if western support is given, social price of the reform can be decreased considerably, the deputy premier said.

Gaydar noted that he regards privatisation as one of the most important tasks of the Russian Government. This is a very complex process, and it needs durable legal and economic foundations in order to be a success, Gaydar said.

Vice Premier on Progress of Economic Reforms

LD1802231792 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—The main economic conclusion that can be drawn two months after the beginning of the Russian economic reform is that the Union ruble is not hopeless and it can be saved, Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar told the LITERATUR-NAYA GAZETA newspaper.

The most important political conclusion, in his opinion, is that "our society appeared to be much cleverer and it has much more common sense and understanding than many have imagined."

Gaydar considers the support of Russian President Boris Yeltsin the most valuable for the reform. Asked what hampers the reform most, Gaydar said "corruption in the management."

"Fortunately, I do not doubt the honesty of the government. However, the government is a surface layer. The lower layers are demoralized. The demoralization of the power machinery at all levels seems to be the most serious problem," said Gaydar.

Describing the "model" of the Russian economic reform, the vice premier noted its originality. There has never been a reform that was accompanied by the division of one country into fifteen ones. Never before was such a difficult reform carried out in the presence of a huge nuclear potential and the need for solving gravest problems of the international security, he noted.

Gaydar stressed the "critical importance" of relations within the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] framework and warned the disintegration of the Commonwealth "may be the mine to blow up all our transformations."

Commenting on taxation, the vice premier admitted the tax on business and mediating activities is too high. In his words, "we should request the parliament to lower the tax to normal level."

Gaydar said Japan should be given a priority in foreign economic relations outside the CIS, as it is a major exporter of financial resources for the whole world. "From the point of view of the financial market, we are very interested in the development of relations with Japan. Unfortunately, the Northern Territorial issue stands in the way," said the Russian vice premier.

Khasbulatov Supports Free Economic Zones

OW1802124292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1057 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview for Chita television the chairman of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov has said that there are differences between the government and parliament on the ways and methods of executing economic reforms. He stressed that the government is mistaken thinking that free economic zones are a past stage.

In his opinion the parliament holds a more radical stand on the issue. He said: "We will see to it that all documents concerning the Luria free economic zone in Chita region would be carried out into life".

Decree Establishes Procedures for Fuel Sales

OW2002154692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed February 17 a "Decree on the procedure of the use of oil, gas and the products of their treatment coming at the disposal of the bodies of executive power of the republics that are part of the Russian Federation, as well as territories, regions and autonomous entities." They are given the right to buy up to 10% of the total volume of gas, oil and gas and oil products produced on their territories at administered prices. Up to 40% of the products purchased in this manner may be sold to Russian consumers at free prices.

Local governments get a right to conclude contracts for the export of energy carriers with payment in hard currency. The producers will be obliged to transfer to them 10% of their quotas for shipment out of Russia.

Hard currency earnings from the export of energy carriers from the executive bodies are exempted from taxes and deduction in the form of the mandatory sale of 40% of the currency to the republican hard currency fund and 10% to the stabilization fund. However, the decree mandates a 50/50 division of the revenues: half will go to the hard currency funds of the republics that are part of the Russian Federation, territories and regions, and the other half, to the hard currency funds of oil and gas producers.

Yeltsin Decree on Protection of Press Released

*LD2102151492 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT
21 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexey Bulay]

[Text] Moscow February 21 TASS—The decree on additional measures to provide legal and economic protection for the periodical press and state publishers, signed by President Boris Yeltsin on February 20, was released in Moscow today. The decree is intended to strengthen the legal and economic basis of the activity of the periodical press and book publishing as well as to provide necessary conditions for the output of socially important publications in the period of transition to market relations.

The decree instructs the government to include enterprises of the pulp and paper industry in the list of monopoly producers acting on commodity markets. During 1992, these enterprises will supply newsprint and cardboard at fixed prices, the total amount of supplies to be at least 70 per cent of the amount supplied to the state in 1991. The measure is needed to ensure the publication of textbooks, fiction, encyclopedias and reference books, books for children and art albums, as well as magazines and newspapers issued in accordance with the programmes endorsed by the Russian press and Information Ministry.

The decree provides for the inclusion of newsprint and book-cover cardboard in the list of commodities to be exported under quotas and licenses in 1992. It exempts periodical publications founded by the supreme bodies of state authority and government, as well as the Russian Press and Information Ministry from deductions to the budget from their currency earnings.

Viktor Gorlenko, executive secretary of the newspaper TRUD, told TASS by telephone that the decree on additional measures for the legal and economic protection of the periodical press and state book publishers is a mere song. According to Gorlenko, "the decree dumps all things together—newspapers, magazines, and books. No deadlines are set". Some publications need subsidies immediately. The newspaper TRUD, for instance, has just enough resources to last until the end of March, he stressed.

Reaction to Yeltsin TV Interview Noted

*LD2002223392 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT
20 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Eleonora Sutotskaya: "Moscow Papers on Yesterday's Speech of Yeltsin"]

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—"The president inspires confidence and optimism", said IZVESTIYA observer Valeriy Vyzhutovich, commenting on Boris Yeltsin's TV interview last Wednesday on the course of the economic reform.

"Yeltsin's view of the fate of economic reform and the fate of the government fulfilling the reform will, certainly, calm down those fearing populist actions on the part of the president," believes Vyzhutovich.

IZVESTIYA cites a pronouncement of St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, who has said "the Russian Government is flexibly defending its economic interests within the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] framework." The newspaper noted Sobchak's skepticism over this issue has recently turned into "hope that common sense will finally triumph."

Positive results of the reform were also noted by Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, who believes the reform has become feasible over the 45 reform days, at least in Moscow. Trade has improved, and the prices peaked late in January. Everything depends on the next step, Popov said.

"The development of the consumer market situation in January-first half of February inspires hopes that some promises of Russian politicians may come true: Goods, although sold at high prices, will appear in shops, and the rouble exchange rate as regards the dollar has dropped and continues to fall," said IZVESTIYA.

"At the same time, one should take into account that too little time has passed to speak trends. The most serious factor is constant and extremely sharp decline of production, which the authorities have failed to stop," noted the newspaper.

In fact, the economic and social situation in Russia remains very complicated. According to information received by IZVESTIYA, the population's monetary income was 119.2 billion roubles last January. This is 2.5 per cent less than last December. Actual revenues were 40 per cent less than last December taking into account last January's price rise.

First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on the Population's Employment of the Russian Labour Ministry Fyodor Prokopov forecasted a sharp increase of unemployment before next fall. Up to ten per cent of the working population is expected to lose their jobs, or approximately seven to eight million people, Prokopov told IZVESTIYA.

There may be slightly less unemployed in reality—about six millions. By current revenues in the unemployment fund, no more than 3.5 million people may count on unemployment benefit.

The VECHERNAYA MOSKVA newspaper publishes two opposite views on the rouble situation. The Russian Government's economic adviser Aleksey Ulyukayev described the stabilization of the rouble exchange rate that began in January and its considerable growth in February as "visible results of the Russian Government's economic policy".

Ulyukayev believes the rouble exchange rate may stabilize at a level of 50-60 roubles for dollar within the next two or three months.

At the same time, Director of the Business Center of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations Pyotr Semenikhin thinks the current rise in the value of the rouble has been provoked by purely administrative arrangements and has nothing to do with the economic situation in the country.

In his opinion, the rouble exchange rate may fall to 300 roubles to the dollar in April-May.

Government Adviser Meets Press on Economy

LD2002210192 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT
20 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—The inflation peak has been passed in Russia, according to the government economic adviser Aleksey Ulyukayev. Its monthly rate will not exceed 20-25 per cent in the months to come, he said. He said the danger of the rouble intervention from former Soviet Republics should not be overestimated, as it can bring not more than 10 billion roubles in cash to Russia. Aleksey Ulyukayev said the Russian Federation can be expected to become a member of the International Monetary Fund before summer. Responding to questions from journalists, Aleksey Ulyukayev said Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar ordered some of the gold mined in the country last year to be sold abroad. Russia's gold stock will be used to purchase food and medicines for major cities which are the hardest hit by shortages. Aleksey Ulyukayev refused to specify the amount of gold in the Russian gold stock. Aleksey Ulyukayev noted that Russia was unable to introduce free oil prices while the rouble exchange rate is being held down artificially. "We believe", Aleksey Ulyukayev said, "that it would be natural and sensible to maintain the rouble exchange rate at a level of 30-35 roubles to the U.S. dollar." In this case the domestic price of oil would amount to about 3,500 to 4,000 roubles a ton, which approximates the current rate in exchange trading. The government believes that this price can take shape on the domestic market by the July 1992. [sentence as received] According to Aleksey Ulyukayev the rouble exchange rate that emerged by the end of January did not conform to the domestic price structure, the correlation of prices inside the country and on the world market. But at the end of January, he said, the rouble exchange rate was practically stable and has been rising ever since. Inflation expectations of participants in economic deals are no longer rampant and they no longer need to turn the rouble mass into hard currency. "These processes have brought about a rise in the rouble exchange rate while the Russian Government and Central Bank have not yet begun taking serious measures to boost amounts of currency on offer on the domestic market," he said.

Aleksey Ulyukayev predicted that the rate would soon be 50 roubles to the dollar. The Russian Government has no plans either for monetary reform or for the introduction of the Russian currency or "parallel money". Nevertheless, he made it clear that "pure cosmetic operations" with the rouble are possible, including changes in the look of the bills. Aleksey Ulyukayev stressed that "Russia must be the successor to the former union rouble". The repayment of the foreign debt, he said, is not likely to be completed within the next few years. "Resources for servicing the debt will be allocated from the Republic's currency reserve which is formed from 40 per cent deductions from currency earnings of raw material exporters and 10 per cent deductions from the earnings of all other exporters. "We pledge to service the entire amount of the foreign debt within the framework of the agreement on solid responsibility signed by eight Commonwealth member-states last autumn," Aleksey Ulyukayev stressed.

Reports on Cabinet Meeting

LD200223192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino
Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT
20 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The latest Cabinet of Ministers session was the subject of a news conference given by Aleksey Ulyukayev, the Russian Government's economic adviser. He stated that today's discussion dealt with the problems of stabilizing economic ties both inside Russia and between the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The Russian economy is generally very highly monopolized, and for that reason, Ulyukayev said, we get such a distorted market. Of 2,000 monopoly holders, the government picked out hundreds of the worst offenders who had been inflating prices by a factor of 30 or 40, or demanding payment for their goods with hard currency or with items in short supply. A special regime of state regulation will be applied to these enterprises. The economic adviser refused to name even one example, but he said that all the punitive measures would be targeted, and would under no circumstances affect the interests of other enterprises. Even so, through his replies to indirect questions, journalists could work out that the government had included the paper industry workers among the ill-intentioned producers.

Another matter was considered by the government. Simultaneously with the privatization of enterprises, plots of land will be allocated. Aleksey Ulyukayev, who has always been an optimist, said that there would be no monetary reform or introduction of a parallel currency or special Russian money, as the ruble [R] had shown its viability and demand for it is growing. He promised that in two months' time the dollar would be valued at no more than R50, and R30 by the end of the year.

[Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English at 1900 GMT on 20 February reports the following:

["In the nearest future, President Yeltsin will issue an antimonopoly decree. This was disclosed to journalists by an economic adviser of the government, Aleksey Ulyukayev. He said there are about 2,000 monopoly companies in Russia that have used market conditions for widely raising the prices of their goods. Under the decree, the prices of their output will be regulated by the government. The expert said that Thursday's session of the Russian cabinet, chaired by Boris Yeltsin, also discussed the stabilization of economic ties between individual parts of Russia and countries of the Commonwealth, as well as financial problems."]

Intelligence Service Official Holds Briefing

'Difficulties' in Personnel Recruitment

MK2002125592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian
20 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by Aleksandr Kharlamov: "Intelligence Officers Not Threatened With Unemployment"]

[Text] At a briefing 19 February Tatyana Samolis, press secretary to the director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS], indirectly admitted that the FIS will have difficulties in recruiting new cadres. Whereas previously, apart from all other considerations, competent and intelligent young people tried to get into intelligence for the high salaries and the opportunities for foreign travel, now commercial structures can offer the same thing with greater success and without tremendous risk. There are not that many people who see romance in intelligence work or people who feel a vocation for the work.

T. Samolis said that new spheres for cooperation between the Russian and U.S. intelligence services have opened up. In addition to the fight against terrorism and drugs, intelligence officers have started to cooperate with regard to averting a brain drain of nuclear physicists from the republics of the former USSR. However, this cooperation does not rule out the two intelligence services' continuing their work against one another. It was said at the briefing with regard to intelligence work in neighboring states, that is in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States that agents will not be conducting intelligence work against them. Information on the situation in these regions is gathered by other means.

Claims No Agents in CIS

MK2002091092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 1

["T.V." report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Intelligence Knows Everything. But Only About Ukraine"]

[Text] The CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states do not yet aim to divide up the Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS], which Russia inherited in its entirety from the USSR. As was said at a briefing, Russia's intelligence officers may help "close neighbors" set up similar services of their own if they so wish. For the time being they can count on the information extracted by Russia's FIS. There are no Russian agents in CIS countries, and "there is not need to think that they will appear soon. Time will tell how events develop further," FIS press secretary Tatyana Samolis said. However, according to her, "if the government wants any information about Ukraine, it will get it."

Deputy Minister on Economic Problems, Reforms

AU2102104592 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT
in German 21 Feb 92 p 3

["HB" report: "The New Cooperation Council Can Work More Quickly"]

[Text] Duesseldorf—President Yeltsin's Russian Government wants to stick to its strict economic policy, which is oriented toward market economy. In an interview with HANDELSBLATT, Aleksey A. Nechayev, first deputy minister of economics and finances, pointed out that the first success of this reform policy can already be seen: The ruble exchange rate, for instance, has stabilized over the past few days; thus the strict budget and financial policy is having the desired effect.

However, there is still no agreement within the Russian Government about the "technical corrections" of the economic reforms, which Russian President Yeltsin has repeatedly announced over the past few days and which—according to the current interpretation—are supposed to brake the horrendous price hikes and other distortions resulting from the liberalization of prices. Nechayev explained that one of President Yeltsin's ideas is to reduce the rising profits of companies to 50 percent of the costs. However, so far this has only been discussed in the Cabinet. Nechayev did not want to predict whether this or some other "technical correction" will actually be implemented. In addition, it is too early to intervene after just one and a half months of free prices.

Despite all reports of crises in the Russian economy, Nechayev thinks that the reform policy is on the correct course and even sees some first success in financial and budget policy. "The strict financial policy is the basic precondition for the stabilization of the ruble," Nechayev stressed several times. "We must balance the money supply with the supply of goods." Obviously, in Moscow loan policy is considered to be one of the main levers, "which we certainly use." One also sees the other danger, however, that industrial production is now strangled by a completely new element, namely by too expensive loans.

In addition to this internal stabilization, there is external stabilization. Nechayev does not leave any doubt that international help will be needed for that. In talks with

the IMF, the World Bank, and the G-7, there is a need to establish a relief fund, which should be equipped with \$6 to \$7 billion and should be used exclusively to support the ruble. Says Nechayev: "Control of this fund would rest exclusively with the countries that provide it so that the money is prevented from being used for consumption in Russia." In Nechayev's view, the ruble exchange rate, which could be defended in this way, might be 20 to 30 rubles to the U.S. dollar.

In this connection, Nechayev did not express particular concern about the intentions of some republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to introduce their own currencies instead of the ruble. In particular the Asian republics do not have any chance of keeping their currencies for more than just a few months, Nechayev said. Even the Baltic states, which do have their own currencies but continue to use the ruble, have realized that: "How do they intend to pursue monetary policy with enormous foreign debts?" According to Nechayev, a CIS-wide coordinated economic and monetary policy is urgently necessary; a central institution for that would also be desirable, but "cannot be established at the moment for political reasons." In particular Ukraine is refusing a corresponding institutionalized cooperation; however, other republics, too, are interested in independence for political reasons.

The Russian Government—"in particular the president," according to Nechayev—is aware of the critical situation in agriculture. Great concern is caused by the expensive loans, the high prices for fuel, and the high purchasing prices for seed. In order to ensure spring sowing and thus a harvest, the government must consider subsidized loans for agricultural enterprises.

Nechayev said that it has also been realized that there is an urgent need to modernize agricultural machinery. During the bilateral talks with the German governments, both with the federal government and with the individual laender, this topic has been broached again and again; however, at the moment there are no specific projects for cooperation in this field.

At the moment, the Russian Parliament is dealing with two draft laws that Nechayev considers particularly important: the law on the private ownership of land and the so-called license law, which is to regulate the issuing of licenses for the exploration and production of natural gas and crude oil. Both drafts have obviously met with strong resistance in Parliament; Nechayev did not want to say definitely whether the laws will be passed by the end of this legislative period and can thus come into force: "After all, we are now a democracy; this can no longer be done just by a stroke of the president's pen." However, he hopes that the Parliament's approval will be given by summer; if not, "we must wait for the new Parliament, which will be elected in November."

Nechayev expressly defended the recently disseminated announcement that in the future Russian industry wants to sell armament products to buyers in the Third World

and, if possible, also to western industrialized states, naturally adhering to international agreements, such as the arms embargo against Iraq. "We do not want any exclusive rights for sale, but nor can we accept any discrimination against our armament industry," Nechayev said. Russia's armament industry is forced to sell its products because, first, it must earn foreign currency, and second, so as not to let its industrial facilities be idle. They will sell "with pleasure," Nechayev said, even the Mig-29, which according to neutral assessments is one of the world's best combat planes, to NATO states.

In addition, the armament industry is subjected to pressure by labor market policy and thus to social pressure: In many places the armament industry is the only enterprise and thus the only employer; often thousands of working people depend on armament production. "Thus, we cannot solve the problem by banning arms exports but we must try to solve it through conversion." This conversion—that is, converting armament companies from the production of military products to that of civilian goods—is still in its initial stages; Nechayev admitted that there is also clear resistance by the military in this field (the highly praised "military-industrial complex").

However, so far this resistance has not had any effect and in the future, too, it will not have any consequences on the goals of the reformers, because "if money is not provided any longer, resistance is useless, too."

The economic politician assessed the first meeting of the German-Russian Cooperation Council in Bonn at the beginning of the week, where agreement was achieved in the long-festering "gas quarrel, which has wrongly been turned into a political topic in Germany," as "extremely positive" for two reasons: first, because the meeting took place at all and second, because, in contrast to previous meetings within the framework of the "German-Soviet Economic Commission," the discussions were less bureaucratic and thus more efficient. In addition to gas prices, the deliberations in Bonn focused on two other major issues, namely on the modernization of the Russian textile industry and on conversions. For the modernization of a textile combine a study was drawn up at the order of the North Rhine-Westphalian land government, and its implementation is now being examined; for conversion it is necessary to find concepts and partners. North Rhine-Westphalian Economics Minister Einert, who accompanied Nechayev, said that no special role is envisaged for his land's industry.

During further talks in Bonn, the Russian delegation was mainly interested in the latest limitation of Hermes guarantees [state export guarantees] to 5 billion German marks [DM]: "It is no secret that we are extremely interested in raising this amount," Nechayev stated. He expressed optimism that corresponding agreements could be achieved at the next meeting in March; Nechayev believes that FRG Economics Minister Moellmann is on his side in this matter. Partial success

has been achieved because orders for ships and railroad cars to the value of DM3 billion, placed with east German companies some time ago, have been taken out of the old, limited package, which means that the total DM5 billion is available for new orders.

In addition, Nechayev expressed satisfaction about the solution that has been found for the long-planned "House of Soviet Economy" in Duesseldorf. The new concept with a working group headed by Dr. Lebahn (the Deutsche Bank expert for Russia), which has been established at the North Rhine-Westphalian Economics Ministry, is "good, because it is practice-oriented and purely related to specific companies." According to Economics Minister Einert, it has been assured that the project, which is now called "Russian House," will be established in Duesseldorf.

Yeltsin Adviser Aslund on Reforms, Tensions

PM1902160092 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER
in Swedish 16 Feb 92 p C9

[Report on interview with Anders Aslund, adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, by Sven-Ivan Sundqvist; place and date not given]

[Text] "The new Commonwealth is not the creation of a new state. The great thing that has happened is that the Soviet Union as a state has been abolished peacefully," said Professor Anders Aslund, Sweden's and one of the world's foremost experts on the Soviet Union.

Aslund seems not to believe that the CIS will be permanent.

"The new Commonwealth is not a state. It must be seen as an instrument, as a process to resolve the new conflicts and the new problems which are now arising," Aslund said, adding:

"The description 'commonwealth' is very fitting. The parallel with the British Empire is obvious. The disintegration of this commonwealth was made easier because the commonwealth existed [sentence as published]. Many Britons thought that the commonwealth was important. But it was not. The same is true of the CIS."

[Sundqvist] Do the Russians think that the creation of the CIS is important?

[Aslund] Some of them want to believe that there is something left of the former Union. They can console themselves with the CIS. Then there are those who do not want to look the truth in the eye, but they have no way of going back.

[Sundqvist] Is there a military alternative?

[Aslund] After the Minsk accord, in December 1991, when the CIS was formed, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev appealed to the military. He slandered the CIS. But Gorbachev's time was up. The military accepted both the CIS and President Boris Yeltsin.

[Sundqvist] List the biggest problems for the CIS.

[Aslund] The currency that is to be used. How the military machine is to be handled. How the ethnic conflicts and border questions are to be resolved. For Russia the collapse of the ruble and inflation are a central problem.

[Sundqvist] Is the breakup and the collapse of the ruble imminent?

[Aslund] From the political viewpoint, the Russian state budget is under control now, despite the fact that the consolidated Soviet budget deficit in 1991 totaled around R400 billion. A major problem is the central bank which is subordinate to the parliament. The parliament is vacillatory and opportunistic.

[Sundqvist] Explain. I do not understand.

[Aslund] In 1991 the central bank gave credits to commercial banks totaling R600 billion. These credits were given at the unreasonably low interest rate of 6 percent. Then the commercial banks lent the money to enterprises, which used the credits in their activities. In the final analysis, this has given rise to an enormous need for cash and hyperinflation.

[Sundqvist] What you are saying sounds like a lack of responsible monetary policy.

[Aslund] Yes, monetary policy is irresponsible and incompetent. These credits from the central bank have to be restricted.

[Sundqvist] Why are they not controlled?

[Aslund] The central bank, again, is subordinate to the parliament, not the government.

[Sundqvist] Why does the head of the central bank not concern himself with the problem?

[Aslund] Today the commercial banks are a strong interest group. In the majority of cases they are joint-stock companies that are in part privately owned and they think that they have a right to cheap credits.

[Sundqvist] Is it correct that in the public debate no attention is paid the behavior of the central bank?

[Aslund] Economists are aware of it. But Russian television, Russian journalists, and the Russian public do not understand the scale of the problem. What is needed is a tight monetary policy which as yet does not exist.

[Sundqvist] Let us move on to the ethnic issues.

[Aslund] An important problem is that there are between 25 and 30 million Russians in the republics outside Russia. Another problem is that there are republics in conflict with each other. There is almost a state of war between Armenia and Azerbaijan. There is a traditional rivalry between Ukraine and Russia. There are tensions

between Russia and Kazakhstan. There are a number of explosive conflicts in the northern Caucasus.

[Sundqvist] Is the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan local in the sense that it is hardly likely to affect Europe if the fighting escalates?

[Aslund] Yes, I think that is the case. It is a geographically limited problem. It cannot be compared with the situation in Yugoslavia, for example, because Armenians and Azerbaijanis live in separate territories. However, inside Azerbaijan there is the region of Nagorno-Karabakh which is populated by Armenians, and that conflict seems to be unresolvable.

[Sundqvist] And Russia-Ukraine?

[Aslund] Things here are more serious because as far as population is concerned the two are the biggest republics. Issues are often matters of prestige and can be tricky. The dispute over the Black Sea Fleet is the major bone of contention. As is the Crimean Peninsula, which Ukraine "was given" by Russia in the past.

[Sundqvist] Why are they fighting over the Black Sea Fleet?

[Aslund] Good question. There is no military logic in this fleet. It really is not needed.

[Sundqvist] Does the military machine still exist? Where? Who is in charge?

[Aslund] The military organization is largely unchanged. In a way it is the only Soviet thing which still exists. The officer corps consists of 50 percent Russians, 40 percent Ukrainians, and 10 percent Belarussians and other nationalities.

[Sundqvist] In what way does the military machine continue to exist? Is there a supreme commander?

[Aslund] In December last year the military discussed its role. President Boris Yeltsin himself went to the Defense Ministry and was told that the military accepted first his supremacy and second the Commonwealth. We had a meeting with Yeltsin an hour after this announcement. He was clearly relieved. He was beaming. But the military wants to keep a united army. However, in Armenia and Georgia there are no longer any native conscripts in the Soviet Army. Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan are opposed to a united defense force for the Commonwealth.

[Sundqvist] How would you group and describe the eleven republics in the CIS?

[Aslund] You can do so in several ways. The five Central Asian republics (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan) are a group on their own. They have the lowest living standards. These five republics are choosing for the future a "Turkish" model. That means secularism—that is, a nonreligious state, not

religious fundamentalism. They believe in a market economy. They have a somewhat hesitant attitude to democracy.

[Sundqvist] If living standards are lowest in this Central Asian grouping, could you give a rough picture of living standards in the other six republics?

[Aslund] As in North Africa.

[Sundqvist] And a description and classification of the other former Soviet republics.

[Aslund] We have the Baltic states which we know a lot about and which are close to us. In time they will each have their own currency—the kroon in Estonia, the lat in Latvia, and the lit in Lithuania.

The three Caucasian republics are another group: Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. It is there that the antagonisms are most marked.

The others can and should be viewed separately: Russia, the largest and most powerful. Ukraine with its younger brother complex vis-a-vis Russia. Belarus, which has been the Soviet Union's Prussia with law and order and obedient citizens, and finally Moldova, which has strong ties with Romania.

[Sundqvist] You mentioned that the three Baltic states have opted for their own currency. What will the other eleven republics do with their ruble?

[Aslund] I think that that there will be a ruble area of six or seven republics. However, Ukraine is opting for its own currency. It will be called the hryvna. It is unclear what Belarus will do. If there is to be a new currency it will be called the ducat.

[Sundqvist] If Russia has to introduce a new ruble, how will this be achieved in practical terms?

[Aslund] All existing notes on Russian territory will be perforated with the letter R, for example. All notes in Ukraine with a U. That is how simple it is.

[Sundqvist] A year ago I listened to you in a debate and you described the situation in the Soviet Union as "completely hopeless." Now you seem optimistic. What has happened?

[Aslund] People have succeeded in winding up the Soviet Union peacefully. Boris Yeltsin has been elected president democratically. There is a democratic regime in Russia.

[Sundqvist] What are Yeltsin's biggest problems?

[Aslund] Handling the windup of the union in an orderly fashion. Carrying through the change of economic system forcefully. Foreign policy is not his main problem.

[Sundqvist] The other day the dollar rose after rumors that Yeltsin was to be removed from office. It is possible to remove Yeltsin from office?

[Aslund] Yeltsin has been elected president with a term that runs until 1995. A military coup is probably the only way to remove him from office.

[Sundqvist] What is your role as adviser to Yeltsin? How did it come about?

[Aslund] The well-known U.S. economist, Jeffrey Sachs, and I have good contacts with Russian economists. Last fall we and our Russian counterparts agreed to formalize our advisory role. We are advisers to the Russian government rather than to President Yeltsin personally.

[Sundqvist] How do you work?

[Aslund] We now have a staff of six people, four Americans and two Swedes (Georg Kjallgren and Anders Bornefalk), who are stationed in Moscow. Two work at the Cabinet Office, three at the Ministry for Privatization, and one at the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Sachs, an American economist called David Lipton, and I take turns in chairing the staff's meetings. In effect we commute to Moscow for a week each.

[Sundqvist] How do you report?

[Aslund] Our employers are the two deputy prime ministers, Finance Minister Yegor Gaydar and Labor Minister Aleksandr Shokhin. We report to them, but have also had sessions with Yeltsin.

[Sundqvist] Tell me about Yeltsin.

[Aslund] I am impressed by Yeltsin. When he speaks you hear none of the old empty socialist phrases. He behaves just like any out-and-out market economist. He is involved in the discussions.

[Sundqvist] Privatization seems difficult to bring about.

[Aslund] It is complicated. Deregulation has not gone far enough. The bureaucracy still exists. State monopolies are obstacles. Privatization must follow two lines. First, small enterprises must be privatized. Then the individual industrial enterprises that are part of larger conglomerates must be privatized in the form of joint stock companies. Soon Privatization Minister Anatoliy Chubays will distribute 25 percent of shares in every large industrial enterprise to its employees.

[Sundqvist] Give them away?

[Aslund] Yes. To create an owning class quickly.

[Sundqvist] What could speed up the process?

[Aslund] For example, auctioning off a million trucks so as to create a functioning distribution apparatus and wholesale trade.

[Sundqvist] Finally. Give me a few impressions of Yeltsin as a person. He is, for example, said to be more of a Russian than Gorbachev. What does this mean?

[Aslund] Yeltsin has a true common touch and great authority at the same time. He wins people's confidence automatically. He seems to be an excellent leader for times of crisis. The more complicated the situation around him seems, the calmer he is. He is a real man of action. With him there is no hiatus between thought and action.

Yeltsin Adviser on Dissatisfaction With Policy

LD1902051692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1910 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Italicized passages recorded in Russian with superimposed translation into English]

[Text] [Announcer] Dr. Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Research Center for United States and Canadian Studies and advisor of six Supreme Soviet leaders and now of the Russian President Yeltsin, is very much dissatisfied with the policies of the current government. He believes that owing to its course, Russia is in the crisis situation. In an interview to Radio Moscow, Georgiy Arbatov said this:

[Arbatov] *I don't know what was in mind of the Gaydar team, the government, but I'm sure they have made a terrible mistake by pushing a large group of the population beyond the poverty line. The reforms must first of all ensure production and labor productivity growth and elevate the well-being of the population.*

[Announcer] Dr. Arbatov believes the first thing the government should have done was to carry out the land reform and privatization, take antimonopoly measures, fill the stores with goods, and attract foreign investors and only then free prices.

So far, believes Georgiy Arbatov, there are only conditions for the growth of the black market capital. Corruption, bribery, and economic crimes are on the rise but justice is inactive, as if serving the interests of the black market capital. Georgiy Arbatov believes that the situation is difficult but not tragic. The country should move forward and take urgent measures to develop civilized entrepreneurship and not go back to the administrative command way of management.

[Arbatov] *I'm no pessimist. I think we have a chance but we are short of time, yet we should not make haste or take unbalanced decisions which are our main shortcomings.*

[Announcer] Dr. Arbatov believes that the Russian parliament should also be involved in carrying out the radical reform—that's first. Second, the government should speed up the demilitarization of the economy, and third, an active foreign policy should be pursued within the Commonwealth. In doing so Russia should preserve its image of a friend. Friendly relations with the

CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member states must become Russia's major international priority.

The Russia's relations with Ukraine, the escalation of distrust and reproaches—it's a return to the logic of the cold war, believes Georgiy Arbatov. Nikita Khrushchov's arbitrary attitude towards Russia and the people of the Crimea displayed in his transfer of the Crimean peninsula mainly populated by Russians to Ukraine is not approved by Georgiy Arbatov yet he says:

[Arbatov] The problem must be discussed by lawyers. Political methods are the wrong methods. Indeed there are belligerent nationalist groups in Ukraine that are strong, and there is no need to offer them food for statements that Ukrainian interests are threatened. The problem of the Crimea should be put aside for the time to solve it is not yet ripe. Now that the situation is tense when we are saying farewell to the totalitarian empire, the main thing for us is to gain a victory of the democratic regimes and an economic triumph. We must do all we can to achieve this victory.

Minister on Agricultural Reform, Prospects

PM1902163192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Valeriy Kononov: "Agriculture Ministry Is Greeting Spring This Time Without Panicking"]

[Text] The Russian agrarian reform is headed in the right direction, Agriculture Minister Viktor Khlystun believes. Production of agricultural products continues to decline, but it is not catastrophic, contrary to the predictions of the opponents of reform. Significant changes have at last begun in the fabric and forms of rural economic ownership. And preparations for the 1992 harvest are more successful than they were a year ago.

It is clear that the sown area will not be reduced this year, contrary to many forecasts. At any rate, more winter crops have been sown than last year and as of today 88 percent of the sowings are in good condition—apparently, no more than 1.5 million hectares will have to be resown in the spring, which is perfectly normal.

Surprisingly enough, my question about the provision of fuel for the sowing campaign did not provoke the seemingly inevitable reaction, given his job—exasperation born of panic. On the contrary.

"The amassing of fuel and lubricants for the sowing process is proceeding quite well," V. Khlystun said. "At least, in those oblasts where field work can start right now—during the February 'gaps in the clouds'—stocks are sufficient and there will be no hiccups. The equipment and spare parts situation is more difficult. At the moment 200,000 tractors—around 7 percent of the tractor pool—are unable to take to the fields because of a shortage of spare parts. This could result in a longer sowing campaign and lower yields. We are making every

effort to resolve the problem, even transferring components and spare parts direct to the countryside from plant assembly lines, which are standing idle because of a lack of rolled metal."

According to the minister, the shortage of equipment and spare parts will also be the main problem for Russian farmers, whose numbers will increase dramatically—to 150,000 by midsummer, that is, by 150 percent. In January alone there were 9,000 new independent peasant farms. Judging by the calculations, farmers will have the seeds and fuel they need for the campaign.

What is happening at the moment to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes? According to the agrarian reform documents, their future was supposed to be decided before the spring. Agriculture Ministry experts carried out an analysis of 14 oblasts in various regions. It turns out that commissions to transform kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] have been set up nearly everywhere and there have been meetings at 40 percent of collective farms to decide what form their future will take. Some 40 percent of them decided to become peasant farm associations, 32 percent decided to become joint-stock companies, and 21 percent decided to become cooperative enterprises with a shared form of ownership. Only 7 percent decided to keep the kolkhoz form unchanged. Clearly, these data reflect the situation throughout Russia. Major changes have started in the countryside. It is a fraught, sometimes tumultuous process of change. There are many misunderstandings and misinterpretations of government documents. It is clear that there are provisions that need adjusting.

This applies, for example, to the size of the peasant's parcel of land. It was established in accordance with the average rayon size. But there were farms and villages that saw too much variation in conditions. The minister believes that the chiefs of local administrations must be given the right to establish within the rayon some norms relating to parcels of land.

Problems are also arising over the reregistration of farms, particularly those that decided to remain kolkhozes or sovkhozes—some local "democratic" organs are refusing to register them.

There have been some other hitches. In order to eliminate them, a government resolution explaining and refining earlier documents is currently in preparation and will be published in the very near future.

V. Khlystun is sure that the agrarian reform strategy is correct and that real changes for the better will come. But several serious problems have to be resolved first. The disparity between prices of agricultural products and industrial products is even more acute than before. Prices of agricultural products (on leaving the producer) have increased four-six times over, whereas prices of agricultural equipment to the peasant have increased 15-70 times over. Agriculture Ministry experts reckon that the difference between expenditure on production (if all resources were acquired at current prices) and proceeds from the sale

of the products is 200 billion rubles [R] in Russia. The minister believes that many monopoly producers are cranking in too high a profit on products for the countryside. For example, at the Rostov Agricultural Machine Building Plant, whose combines now cost over R1 million, it is 40 percent. V. Khlystun is pressing for a roundtable of power industry workers, machine builders, metallurgical workers, and agricultural workers in order to find mutually acceptable solutions.

The mixed feed situation is difficult. Current prices of it are making livestock raising a ruinous occupation. State subsidies for the implementation of social programs in the countryside have been radically cut (by approximately four-fifths compared with the sums set by the second congress of deputies)—and this is an extremely painful and urgent problem. As is, incidentally, the nonfulfillment of a number of past government pledges to the peasants. In short, there are still a good many barriers in the way of agrarian reform.

There have also been some surprises. Vice President A. Rutskoy took over agrarian matters the other day at B. Yeltsin's behest. What is his relationship, then, with the agrarian department: liaison, partnership, competition?

"I have not yet met with Aleksandr Vladimirovich to discuss the matter," V. Khlystun said. "But as far as I know, it was agreed that he would handle private farms, and not the agrarian reform in general. In any case I hope we will find a common language."

"What are the 'draft state documents on the countryside' that the vice president is currently preparing, according to press reports?"

"I have no idea."

Economic Official Discusses Privatization

*LD1902190892 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 2025 GMT 18 Feb 92*

[Interview with Anatoliy Borisovich Chubays, captioned as minister chairman of the State Committee of the Russian Federation for the management of the state economy, by Russian television observer Aleksandr Radov; place and date not given; from the "I Ask for the Floor" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Radov] Were you a member of the CPSU?

[Chubays] Yes.

[Radov] When did you cease to be a member?

[Chubays] I left the CPSU at the time of the Russian Communist Party congress. You remember the congress of the Russian Communist Party when Polozkov was elected first secretary. That was the last straw as far as I was concerned.

[Radov] Did you bid farewell to communist ideology at the same time?

[Chubays] I cannot say that I fought communist ideology from the very beginning. That is not the case. For better or for worse, I shared the principles of that ideology absolutely sincerely, trying to sort out what was not clear to me and what gave rise to objections, but I did indeed share that ideology. Gradually, I would say beginning from the second half of the 1980's, I found myself facing more and more questions for which I could not find the answers in communist ideology. Like many other people, no doubt, I covered the path from socialist or communist ideology, via the ideology of market socialism with which I was engaged very seriously and very thoroughly during the 1980's. I studied in detail the works of Czech economists, many of whom participated in the Prague Spring of 1968 and the Prague reform. I know many of them personally, as I know many of the Hungarian and Polish economists. Somewhere around 1988 it became clear to me when I moved from the ideology of market socialism to studying the classics of economics, to studying the ideas of economic liberalism, to studying the works of Hajek, Zimmerman, and Buchanan, and many other Western economists, that democratic socialism or market socialism is not a viable ideology.

[Radov] Anatoliy Borisovich, is privatization already taking place?

[Chubays] Yes, of course it is taking place. It has been taking place for a long time. It began on a large scale even before it was officially declared, even before certain official documents made their appearance, before the appearance of the law on privatization.

[Radov] Do you admit that wild privatization—privatization that works in favor of the nomenklatura and the shadow or the criminal structures—do you admit that in its scale today it exceeds the legal privatization in many respects?

[Chubays] I do not just recognize it, I am absolutely convinced that that is the case and that is how it is going to be until documents come out that explain just what legal privatization is and how it should be carried out in accordance with the law and in accordance with legislative acts. That is why we have decided to make it our main task to issue as soon as possible, within the absolutely tightest time-scale, a set of documents that will at last be able to help us separate legal privatization from illegal privatization.

[Radov] Is it too late? Have we made a fatal delay? Is the result that the main pieces of the cake have already disappeared from the working people whose interests you guard?

[Chubays] I could no doubt reply that it would be better to put that question to representatives of the previous governments. There would be a certain amount of truth in that. I can answer your question directly. I do not think that we are too late. According to our estimates there are different percentages for different industries, but overall the figure is that between 80 to 90 percent of industry is in state ownership. In some cases it is between

60 to 70 percent for particular industries. The fact that the widest variety of real owners lie hiding behind the word state is a different matter, but at least there are legal, formal grounds for privatizing this state property today in accordance with civilized norms. [passage omitted]

[Radov] Let's return to the issue of what frightens you about headlong privatization. Others take a different view: that it is the only thing that can save us. The question now is: privatization for the sake of what? The legal documents that you have now prepared have as their main thesis the fact that this promotes economic and financial stabilization. But is privatization being seen as some kind of end in itself, as the only thing upon which civilized society can rest?

[Chubays] Here the question is this: Is it a goal or is it a means? Is it privatization for the sake of privatization? Or is it needed in order to achieve something else? I do not want to approach this question in black and white terms—either this or that. We now find ourselves in a situation where privatization, for us, is a key goal for the immediate future. At the same time, we are in a situation where it is only with the help of privatization as a means that we can pull the economy out of the blind alley in which it currently finds itself. Both answers are valid.

[Radov] Is there anything in your documents that proves that you are trying to do this not for the sake of officialdom, be it old or new, not for the sake of some shadow structures—omnipotent in our country, as many people assert—but for the sake of a democratic society, a civil society?

[Chubays] This is a very serious question. What is all this being done for? Who in actual fact needs it? Let's try to take it stage by stage. Are we exerting ourselves for the sake of officialdom? Trying to do it for the officials—if we are to translate the phrase into more professional language—means issuing the kind of documents and introducing the kind of privatization procedures under which officials always have the last word. We do not want procedures where officials have the right to decide: I will sell this shop to you, but I do not like the citizen who came in after you very much, but perhaps I will reach agreement with him if we find a common language. This is the main thing we are striving categorically to avoid in all of our documents. There are no instances in our privatization procedures where officials have the right to choose to whom they will sell. This removes the foundation that produces the bribery, corruption, the mafia, and everything else we have unfortunately been witnessing quite frequently until recently. That is the first point.

[Radov] Who decides instead of officials?

[Chubays] I will try to discuss that now. If an official does not intervene, then who does? Whether we like it or not, throughout the whole world there is only one answer to this question. If it is not an official, then it is the market that decides. If it is not an official, it is the free

price. If it is not an official, then it is the normal movement to the developed market mechanism. There is no third option here. It is either the first or the second or some kind of combination of the first and the second. This is precisely the reason why we proceed from the view that decisions have to be made under normal market conditions, in a normal auction, having in mind that the person who pays the highest price becomes the owner of what he has paid for.

[Radov] So we are placing our hopes in some sort of automatic justice inherent in market mechanisms. The objection will be raised: What the devil is this about a just market if all property is concentrated in the hands of 5, 7, or 10 percent of the population, while everyone else is down and out. They do not even have anything with which to feed themselves, let alone buy property. Are you counting on Western capital, of which everyone is greatly afraid, including upcoming entrepreneurs? People are not ready for equal contacts, to say nothing of competition.

[Chubays] That objection can be regarded as justified, if all privatization, all the selling off, is organized on the principle of giving over everything to the market. That is not the case. We had precisely that argument in mind when we envisaged a whole list of very serious and substantial exceptions from the market mechanism. The first exception is that 25 percent of the property of every enterprise undergoing privatization is transferred gratis to the collective of the enterprise. The second exception is that the collective has the right to acquire shares at face value—not at market prices, but at face value—and with a 30 percent reduction on the share price. The third exception is that the collective receives, gratis, ownership of 10 percent of the state property being sold off, to dispose of as it wishes. The fourth exception is that the collective receives half of the economic incentive fund of the enterprise in question, which may be used for privatization purposes.

There are additional benefits which I do not wish to detail here. We opted for these in full recognition of the fact that we are dealing today with a market that is far from ideal and an economy that is far from being a well-developed one where one can throw everything onto the market and know someone will buy it. We are forced to take account of both ways of approaching this, but it is important in so doing to distinguish the part that falls to the collective under advantageous conditions from the part we will be taking out onto the free market in accordance with free market laws. [passage omitted]

[Chubays] The collective would be in quite a different position if we said flatly: 25 percent of the value of the enterprise goes to the collective. That would be unjust, because at a hydro-electric power station, for example, there is a very small staff but gigantic capital funds. We would be giving a gift of hundreds of millions to some and hundreds of rubles to others. We therefore were unavoidably compelled to introduce restrictions on the maximum level of concessions that every citizen may

receive. This maximum has been set at 20 times the minimum wage. Should this minimum wage increase—today it is 244 rubles—then so will the maximum amount of assets that every member of the labor collective may receive as a first concession. [passage omitted on Chubays explaining that individuals have to register and open a personal privatization account in order to benefit from privatization of state property]

It has been decided that personal privatization accounts will indeed be opened, and no later than 1 January next year. Before these are set up, the concessions we were talking about earlier will apply. [passage omitted]

[Radov] Why did you rush? Did you think that privatization should come first, and then price liberalization afterward? What is your opinion?

[Chubays] Absolutely! If we had had the opportunity to act as we wanted, the problem of privatization would have been resolved first. Of course, it would have been even better to restore the financial situation to health first, and only after that to free prices. We found ourselves in a situation where the economy was on its death bed: Either we took emergency measures right away and got it out of this state, or we would quite simply be dealing with a corpse. That meant we had no time to delay liberalization of prices. It was therefore done as fast as possible. The document on privatization came into force at the same time, 1 January. [passage omitted]

[Radov] What should we manage to achieve on privatization in a year—by the end of this year, at best?

[Chubays] We should manage a great deal. If one means financial elements, then according to our estimates this year we should privatize property that will put revenue into the budget amounting to 92 billion rubles. By way of comparison, the total budget revenue from privatization was 2 billion rubles in 1991. [passage omitted]

[Radov] What about privatization of the military-industrial complex? [passage omitted elaborating]

[Chubays] As for how easy it is to privatize the defense sphere, any professional who has had any contact with what privatization of a defense enterprise implies would be unlikely to agree that it is a simple matter. It suffices to say, for instance, that in the defense sphere a ruble quite often is converted according to a 1 to 1 exchange rate; that is, experts value one ruble worth of capital in the defense industry at \$1, whereas in other spheres \$1 is valued at 150 to 170 rubles. Such are the ratios. One must be far more careful here. Even a small mistake costs far more. That is the first thing. Second, we do not think it necessary to postpone privatization of the defense sphere; it is just that knowing it is a more complicated process, we are not demanding that defense enterprises be privatized during February and March of this year. We are setting such tasks. They are on the agenda, but we understand that it will require serious efforts. [passage omitted]

Central Bank Blames Gosbank for 'Easy Credits'

PM1902151792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 19 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Panasenkov: "Central Bank Promises End of Easy Credits"]

[Text] Russia's Central Bank intends to implement a policy of rigorous credit curbs so as to ensure that enterprises are not tempted to hike prices and pay out all their revenue in wages—this has been promised by Georgiy Matyukhin, president of Russia's Central Bank.

He categorically rejects accusations leveled at Russia's Central Bank claiming that by its "soft stance" it has until now contributed to the inflationary injections into the economy of credits running into tens and hundreds of billions of rubles [R]. "Those who are saying this are either deliberately distorting the truth, or do not understand the phenomenon," he believes. "In 1991 up to 70 percent of credit resources were used to fund state expenditure, that is, to finance the state budget deficit. What is more, this happened outside our control, and without consulting Russia's Central Bank. Furthermore, right up to the new year the USSR State Bank was handing out generous credits left, right, and center, which we could not prevent either. Only from January have we taken credit policy in Russia firmly into our own hands, and we now take full responsibility for it."

According to the Institute of Economic Policy, up to 50 percent of the increase in union funding in the fourth quarter of last year was covered by Viktor Gerashchenko by means of inflationary credits which increased money supply by approximately R100 billion. And the same amount was pumped into circulation by the republics.

"The easy credit policy under which enterprises received credits almost automatically has come to an end!" Georgiy Matyukhin exclaims. At the same time the government must be prepared to stand its ground in the counteroffensive which will be launched by leaders of industrial enterprises. "Their tactics are very simple," the president of Russia's Central Bank says, "they fill their warehouses with goods but do not ship them out, in an effort to hike prices even further. And they use cheap bank credits to pay the workers, fully confident that the higher prices will fully cover all interest payments. We will end this practice."

He is also determined to stop maintaining essentially bankrupt enterprises at state expense.

Nonetheless, Georgiy Matyukhin rejects the extreme ideas of certain Western economists, and primarily Jeffrey Sachs, the government adviser, who are demanding that the "money presses be stopped" with immediate effect. "This is simply impossible today," he says. It is true, Georgiy Matyukhin admits at the same time, that as these university specialists begin to understand the

realities of the Russian economy more profoundly, their views are shifting toward less direct and simple solutions.

He described as a great success the proposed arrival in Moscow in the capacity of adviser to Russia's Central Bank of the well known U.S. specialist Paul Volcker. Paul Volcker, who headed the U.S. Federal Reserve System for two terms, may prove to be the only practical worker in the Russian leadership's bevy of Western advisers and experts, and it is this which makes him particularly valuable.

"The Central Bank works in very close contact with the government," the president stresses. "Together with the two sides' readiness to make swift adjustments to tactics, this inspires hope of success, even if this is still a long way off full-scale optimism."

'Bungling' Leaves Foreign Trade Bank Insolvent

*MK2002140392 Moscow KURANTY in Russian
20 Feb 92 p 6*

[Report by Igor Gansvind: "Vneshekonombank in the Position of a Bankrupt"]

[Text] The main and only bank to service all foreign trade transactions has simply gone bust. It has, for instance, stopped settling bills of credit. Throughout the civilized banking world this is undoubtedly a sign of absolute bankruptcy. If a bank exists, it is obliged to accept contract letters of credit for settlement. However, suddenly the "money has dried up" in entrepreneurial firms' hard-currency accounts. The accounts have been frozen, bank personnel explain, "in accordance with an internal ordinance." It is very convenient to cite an internal ordinance, but totally groundless. National firms cannot obtain more detailed explanations because they fear that, if they start to be insistent, their accounts will never be unfrozen.

The lack of information is giving rise to rumors. All the bank's domestic debts, which are estimated to amount to more than \$5.4 billion, will be turned into bonds with an as yet unknown rate of interest and an indefinite repayment date. The accounts of enterprises in those sectors that have a chance of more targeted Western credits may be unfrozen. The Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity] will most likely have three rightful successors: One section will continue to service the centralized, external debt; another will go to the Russian Vneshtorgbank [Foreign Trade Bank]; and the third will become an independent commercial bank. A Supreme Soviet commission has been set up to tackle the Vneshekonombank, but independent Swiss firms of auditors will most likely be called to its aid to determine the bank's solvency.

At present the fallen elephant is squashing thousands of flies. Foreign partners are filing charges against our

commercial organizations for failing to implement contracts, and Russian businessmen are trying unsuccessfully to prove an instance of force majeure in our country. Commercial banks that opened agent [korrespondentskiy] accounts in the Vneshekonombank have also suffered. Dare-devils who dared to do business in this country are suffering because of state bungling.

Official Concerned About Migration Problems

*LD1702113592 Moscow TASS in English 1024
17 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ludmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—The biggest stream of migrants to Russia this year is expected from the Chechen Republic, and from the former Union republics of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, [and] Uzbekistan. Such is the forecast of experts based on information received from public organisations of the Russian-speaking people. Tatiyana Regent, the Russian deputy minister for labour and employment, who heads the committee on migration formed at the ministry in December, told this to ITAR-TASS.

The committee deals with three groups of migrants. The first one consists of recognised refugees who are given aid from the state budget. They number 235 thousand. Meskhetian turks, people who fled from Azerbaijan in 1990, and Ossets who moved from South Ossetia to North Ossetia are in this class.

The second group consists of forced migrants from former Union republics, above all Central Asian republics, regarding whom no government decisions were taken. Tatiyana Regent believes the stream of these migrants is unlikely to decrease.

The third group that formed rather recently consists of Russian migrants from former autonomous republics and regions. The most serious problem is posed by migrants from the Chechen Republic which is inhabited by 300,000 Russians.

The chairperson of the committee on migration said the committee had worked out a comprehensive plan for dealing with the problem of refugees and migrants. A number of draft documents related to the problem are considered by the government. International organisations offer aid.

A few days ago, Tatiyana Regent met in Geneva with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata and with a number of experts. They offer consultations to help draft the law on refugees and forced migrants in Russia.

It was agreed to open in the Russian Federation a mission of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. When Russia signs the 1951 Geneva convention on refugee status, it will be given material aid to deal with the problem of migrants.

Air Traffic Controllers Strike Postponed

LD2102093792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 0800 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] Late in the evening of 20 February, representatives of the Government of Russia and the Federation of Air Traffic Controllers' Trade Unions reached an agreement on calling off the strike by air traffic controllers, which was to start at midnight.

The government and the air traffic controllers signed a protocol in which the obligations of the Russian authorities to meet all the demands are specified. They specify improving working and leisure conditions and establishing an interdepartmental commission, under the president and the chairman of the Government of Russia, for the use of air transportation and the management of air traffic.

A trade union representative reported to RIA that the pre-strike state will be preserved for another five days until the government obligations have been finally drawn up.

Leaders Differ on Future Control of Arms Trade

MK1902145092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 19 Feb 92 pp 1, 2

[Report by Pavel Felgengauer: "Reorganization: Exporting Arms the Last Hope for CIS? Still Unclear Who Will Sell Them"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At present the system of "military-technical cooperation" is being restructured and it is therefore not entirely clear who precisely is responsible for it. (Moreover, the same situation prevails in other Russian government structures). Overall leadership has passed from the disbanded Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations to the Russian Federation Committee for Foreign Economic Relations attached to the Russian Foreign Ministry (chaired by Petr Aven). In accordance with President Yeltsin's decree a state company for the export of arms and military hardware has been formed and is reported to have started work. It was set up on the basis of the Technical Main Administration and was previously engaged in construction. It is led by Admiral Sergey Krasnov (former head of the Technical Main Administration). At the same time the Technical Main Administration is continuing its arms trade activity, but another state trading company has been set up—albeit not yet ratified—there by a corresponding decision. The GUSK [expansion unknown] has now been more or less disbanded and its apparatus divided up among the two state companies. An Administration for Military-Technical Cooperation has also been set up (led by Colonel Valeriy Mironov).

The general outlines of the Russian system for "military-technical cooperation" now being set up should shortly be defined by a corresponding decree from President Yeltsin, but it has not proved possible to agree the text of the decree itself and—this is the main thing—the more

detailed text of the secret appendix to it in the ministries and departments. Many people both in government structures and in parliament would like to monitor the arms trade. Others would like to trade (conclude contracts)—autonomously, moreover, if possible. So, new versions of the future decree are appearing all the time.

Galina Starovoytova, President Yeltsin's adviser on nationalities issues and a Russian people's deputy from St. Petersburg, is among those advocating greater energy [operativnost] in arms trading: "In St. Petersburg, 74 percent of enterprises belong to the military-industrial complex. There are no natural resources. St. Petersburg will not survive. The only way out is to allow arms to be exported. When Yeltsin visited the city last month I asked him to allow enterprises to trade, but he has hitherto refused."

General Kobets, state adviser, thinks that only one body (the GMVK [expansion unknown]), should adopt decisions pertaining to trade in weapons (the issuing of licenses). And it is not only (and not so much) the state companies attached to the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations that should trade (hold talks, draft and conclude contracts), but the real producers (and owners) of the weapons, since the many stages of decisionmaking in practice make it difficult for the work to be done efficiently. [passage omitted]

Servicemen Appeal To Have Union Recognized

OW2002181992 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1553 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Independent Trade Union of Servicemen sent a prepared decree to President Yeltsin regarding trade unions in the army. The resolution outlines the rights and obligations of the trade union and regulates its relationship with military command.

"Our proposition to Marshal Shaposhnikov on the need to recognize the trade union and develop it remains unanswered", the deputy chairman of the Independent Trade Union of Servicemen Lieutenant Captain Andrey Goptar told INTERFAX. He added that consultations with presidential advisers Galina Starovoytova and Sergey Stankevich "give us some hope that our proposal will find support in the Russian government."

The resolution presented to Yeltsin provides for a number of powers to be granted trade unions allowing them to resolve conflicts which arise within the army, the right for members of the central committee of the Independent Trade Union to visit military units unhindered, and the right to organize any collective actions under the laws with the exception of strikes.

Finance Official Discusses Search for Funds*OW1802212392 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1922 GMT 18 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Aleksandr Smirnov, head of the budget department of the Russian Finance Ministry, his ministry has collected only indirect evidence that the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) invested money in foreign-based commercial structures. Replying in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] to charges that the finance ministry "has been misusing CPSU money or not using it at all," Smirnov said that the party could not be regarded as a criminal organization until it was identified as one by a court of law. The latter provision, he noted, was "a must" for various foreign banks, including those in Switzerland, to give out information concerning the CPSU's bank accounts. Besides, under President Yeltsin's decree the CPSU property, including its bank assets, must be transferred to the state, i.e., to the State Committee for Government Property Management. "The finance ministry is only expected to ensure that such property is transferred to the named committee as is requested by the Procurator's Office," Smirnov said.

In some cases, he continued, the finance ministry might choose "to collect dividends without withdrawing the money, since such withdrawal might be economically inexpedient."

According to Smirnov, the figure of 2.5 billion rubles at which the CPSU property was recently estimated in parliament includes only the original book value, because "its current value, recalling the latest price hikes, must be considerably higher."

USSR Deputies Call for Putschists' Release*PM2002112092 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 2*

["Open Letter to Russian General Prosecutor V.G. Stepankov" (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA headline) from USSR People's Deputies A.N. Krayko, Yu.V. Golik, and N.N. Engver, dated 17 February]

[Text] Esteemed Valentin Georgiyevich!

As you are aware, at the present time preparations have begun for the Sixth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies. In connection with this, we ask you to alter the preventive restrictions on USSR People's Deputies A.I. Lukyanov, O.D. Baklanov, V.I. Varennikov, V.A. Starodubtsev, and O.S. Shenin, freeing them from the detention block.

After the completion of the investigation, when the accused can no longer influence the course of the investigation, their continued detention in custody is senseless. There should be no fear of their disappearing, because it is simply impossible for such well-known

people to disappear in our country. Therefore the continued detention of these people (and, moreover, of the other defendants in this same case) in the detention block would look like an act of common vengeance, demonstrating only the political and legal impotence and inhumanity of the authorities. In conditions where the "last remaining political prisoners," such as plane hijackers, deserters, and common traitors, are being released, to keep in custody people whose guilt has moreover not yet been proven in law—and after the illegal proclamation of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], it is not clear whether it will ever be proved—would be absurd. Let us remember, incidentally, that the release two months ago of V.I. Boldin, according to your colleagues' assertions, was in no way detrimental to the investigation.

[Signed] On the instructions of the organizing committee for preparations for the Sixth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies:

USSR People's Deputies:

A.N. Krayko—territorial district 003

Yu.V. Golik—territorial district 190

N.N. Engver—national-territorial district 658

[Dated] 17 February

New Price Committee To Be Formed*LD2102143792 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT
20 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzublo]

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—A new price committee of the Russian Federation Economics and Finance Ministry will be formed on the basis of the dissolved USSR inter-Republican and Russian Price Committees, new Committee Chief Lira Razenova told ITAR-TASS today.

She said the committee's functions are being changed. If previously the committee set prices, it will now concentrate on the analysis and forecast of the situation with prices, the state regulation of prices set by monopolists and on monitoring how maximum price levels on some range of products are honoured.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Might Soon Cease*PM2002182392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Feb 92 p 1*

[Article by Viktor Kozhemyako under the general heading: "Talking About This": "Newspapers Going Under"]

[Text] So the danger which has been discussed so frequently by journalists of late has become a reality. Last Wednesday KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA failed to

appear. TRUD subscribers failed to receive their newspaper yesterday. Our PRAVDA, as you know, stopped appearing on Thursdays some time ago. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and SELSKAYA ZHIZN—which, it is being said, is planning to appear just once a week—have switched to three issues a week.

Just what is going on? Central newspapers nowadays are cutting back on issues one after another, and in the future may stop publishing altogether. The reasons are well-known: an all-out offensive by communications workers, paper makers, and printing workers, which is leaving the press in an unbearable situation.

Here are some calculations done by the TRUD Editorial Office. Almost 13.5 million people took out subscriptions to the newspaper for 1992, paying 9 kopeks a copy. Each copy now costs the editorial office 72 kopeks. There is a similar picture at PRAVDA: We too have been forced to appeal to our readers for financial aid and look for sponsors. Tomorrow we will switch to a four-page issue instead of a six-page issue. Here is what Vladislav Fronin, chief editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, told me:

"The publishing house has warned us that publication will cease with issue no. 47. That is, we only have enough money left for eight more issues. You could call this daylight robbery. For instance, Donetsk is demanding 136 percent of face value [nominal] to print our newspaper."

Vladislav Aleksandrovich termed KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's nonappearance 19 February as a warning. He thinks it should force the Russian Government to seriously think again about the fate of newspapers.

"How long can we go on waiting—living under a sword of Damocles, under a high-voltage current? After all, we are constantly being promised that a document will be signed to help the press in its highly difficult position. First people said that Boris Nikolayevich would come back from Paris and sign it on Monday. Then Press Minister Mikhail Poltoranin stated that the president would arrive from Minsk and... The document was said to be already on his table. But week has followed week and the promises are still up in the air. Will we make it to Monday?

"The waiting is getting harder and harder," Vladislav Fronin said. "Moreover, there are increasingly persistent rumors that, when it is being decided which papers will receive help and which will not, the newspapers will be divided up into 'suitable' and 'unsuitable.'"

"This is already pretty bad: It smacks of an era which were were fortunately supposed to have left behind. We probably have a particular need of journalistic solidarity right now. If we are being threatened with destruction, we must be cohesive, irrespective of certain publications' positions. I do not even rule out the protest action mentioned in the statement by the leadership of the Confederation of Journalistic Unions."

The PRAVDA Editorial Office also believes that, today more than ever, all of us who work in the most varied publications need to be closely cohesive and collaborate to survive and ensure that readers are not left without newspapers or newspapers without readers.

Literary Weekly To Commence Publication 22 Feb

PM2102150692 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 21 Feb 92 First Edition p 4

[Igor Ivanov report under the "Debut" rubric: "LITERATURNYYE NOVOSTI on Saturdays"]

[Text] And so, despite the difficult market situation, our family of weeklies has a new addition. The newborn Community of Writers' Unions—successor to the former USSR Writers' Union—and the Moscow Writers' Union have decided to publish a 16-page weekly, LITERATURNYYE NOVOSTI [LITERARY NEWS]. The first issue, printed in 50,000 copies, will come out on Saturday 22 February.

The editorial collegium includes many well-known writers and critics—Bulat Okudzhava, Yuriy Nagibin, Timur Pulatov, Aleksandr Ivanov, Lev Anninskiy, and Yuriy Borev—as well as Galina Starovoytova, adviser to the Russian president on national questions, Larisa Piyasheva, deputy mayor of Moscow, and Konstantin Borovoy, president of the Russian Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange. The joint-stock company "Konvers-ekologiya" has agreed to sponsor the weekly. ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA observer Edmund Iodkovskiy has been appointed chief editor of LITERATURNYYE NOVOSTI.

Readers will find varied items in the first issue. There is an interview with Russia's new Minister of Culture Ye. Sidorov, as well as an item on how they tried to compromise the poet Ye. Yevtushenko and declare him a KGB agent, and B.N. Yeltsin an agent of the "Jewish masons"...

TASS Carries Evening TV News Roundup 20 Feb

LD2002222592 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT
20 Feb 92

["Moscow TV Evening News Roundup"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—The results of the negotiations of the Armenian and Azerbaijanian foreign ministers in Moscow, the probability of an air traffic controllers strike planned for February 21 and the fall of the dollar rate against the rouble were the themes discussed in evening Moscow TV news on Thursday [20 February].

Vesti news contained a report that the Armenian-Azerbaijanian talks over Nagorno-Karabakh with Russia's mediation lasted eight hours and were a success.

"The results of the talks proved more modest than the expectations, but still were encouraging", it was said in the Novosti programme.

A communique was adopted on the results of the meeting. The Armenian side believes that the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh is not a territorial or religious issue, but a human rights issue.

The Azerbaijanian side expressed satisfaction that the need to observe all principles of the Helsinki process was recognised at the talks.

At the same time, Galina Starovoytova, the Russian president's adviser for interethnic relations, believes events in Karabakh are no longer local events. "This is a large-scale regional war, and the involvement of neighbouring states, and not only neighbouring regions, is highly probable", she told a news conference on Thursday. An excerpt from the news conference was shown in Vesti programme.

Starovoytova believes it is impossible to resolve the conflict without bringing U.N. troops into Karabakh until the Commonwealth states form such forces. "Karabakh would like to be an independent republic even now, but it wishes to be under Russia's protection", Starovoytova said. "Russia should decide whether it has interests in the Transcaucasia or whether we give up the region and leave it to other states which clearly have interests in the region," she said.

It was noted in Vesti programme that air traffic controllers of 38 Russian airports expressed the readiness to strike on February 21. There will be no strike at the main centre of air traffic control at Sheremetyevo, as well as at the airports in Vyatka, Kirov, Novorossiisk, Magadan.

In May 1991, meeting air traffic controllers' demand, the former Ministry of Civil Aviation of the USSR gave air traffic controllers a 50 per cent pay rise.

An agreement on economic matters has been reached by the government and air traffic controllers by now, but an agreement of technical matters is still lacking. First of all, it is necessary to form a joint organisation uniting both military and civilian air traffic controllers in Russia, it was said in Vesti programme.

Novosti reported that air traffic controllers in Belarus and Ukraine are likely to join in the strike and that "the air space of the three Slav Republics may be blocked indefinitely".

It was said in the news programme that the office of the Russian prosecutor general stated that the strike may seriously jeopardise flights safety and cause fatalities. Measures envisaged by legislation will be used in case of grave consequences, the public prosecutor's office warned.

"The exchange rate of the U.S. dollar in Moscow is now 70 roubles", Vesti reported. Novosti quoted Aleksey

Ulyukayev, economy adviser of the Russian Government, as saying that in two months the U.S. dollar would be 50 roubles, and would be 30 roubles by the end of the year.

The U.S. theme also dominated a reportage from Murmansk. Novosti described the collision of a U.S. submarine with a submarine of the CIS in the Barents Sea on February 11 as a violation of the territorial waters of the former USSR by U.S. submarine, the first such case in recent years. In a reportage from Murmansk, Novosti, showing a map, noted it is obvious that Americans violated the U.N. convention on the law of the sea and that this fact cannot but cause concern.

Poll on Reforms, Politicians' Popularity

PM2002145592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Nugzar Betaneli, director of the Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarianism: "Favorable Changes in People's State of Mind"]

[Text] The independent Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarianism conducted its regular weekly poll of Muscovites 13 February at the request of the Information Television Agency's (ITA) "Itogi" program.

A comparative analysis of seven polls (covering a sample of 1,000 respondents each) carried out by the institute in January and February showed:

Let us recall that the 6 February poll caused a sensation: For the first time since the start of the "market economy" year, favorable changes for the better were noted in people's state of mind. The 13 February poll confirmed that the positive trend was setting in. In the last two weeks, the number of people satisfied with their life increased by 12 percent, and the number of those dissatisfied with it fell by 11 percent. The number of respondents claiming that price liberalization is "impossible to withstand" reached 46 percent in January. By mid-February it had fallen by almost 9 percent. Finally, the fact that 10 percent more Muscovites expressed faith in the success of B. Yeltsin's policies indicates positive changes.

Are all these positive changes of which we are talking just a mirage? Obviously, this question does not perturb only researchers. When asked whether there had been positive changes in Russia's current socioeconomic situation which inspired hope or optimism, 37 percent of Muscovites answered in the affirmative, 44 percent said "no," and 19 percent found it difficult to say.

Meanwhile, 15 percent of Muscovites specifically named that which inspires hope and optimism:

—examples of the effectiveness of economic policy: 7.5
—policy for enterprise, private sector's development, move toward market and free prices: 6.7

- democratization, glasnost, man's spiritual emancipation: 5.3
- land reform, development of private farming: 3.0
- other: 1.4

At the same time, the situation is not as favorable as it may appear at first glance. The fact that people have adapted to the difficult socioeconomic situation can largely be described as sociopsychological—people have “grown used to it.” If inflation and prices complete another “crazy” round, the people's patience could run out. Red tape and sluggishness at the present stage of development could irreparably undermine faith in the success of economic reform. A graphically obvious example of this is the land reform, which is losing momentum. The main reason for Russia's current food shortage, 73 percent of Muscovites believe, is the fact that peasants have not become landowners.

The system of political leadership in Russia is complex and not absolutely stable. The 6 February poll revealed that the sympathies of 56 percent of Muscovites lay with those who defended B. Yeltsin's government. Some readers, television viewers, and journalists interpreted these data from the institute as an indicator of direct support for the Russian Federation president. For truth's sake, we are bound to stress that this merely proves that people simply want stability and that they are against the Russian Government's resignation.

In order to accurately judge B. Yeltsin's ratings we must take into account the results of a “narrower” survey. This is how people relate to the Russian President:

very positively an active supporter:	7
positively:	35
with some positive interest:	12
indifferently:	8
with some caution:	22
negatively:	10
very negatively, active opponent:	3
difficult to say:	3

The current socioeconomic crisis is accompanied by political instability and tension. This is proved in particular by the masses' mistrust of and disappointment in their political leaders. As the 13 February poll revealed, a significant number of people—43 percent—do not trust a single one of the Russian politicians.

The following were named among politicians eliciting the greatest trust: B. Yeltsin—12.1 percent; A. Rutskoy—3.7; R. Khasbulatov—2.2; Ye. Gaydar—1.8; G. Popov—1.3; M. Gorbachev—1.2; G. Yavlinskiy—0.7; A. Sobchak—0.6; others (17 names)—14.4 percent. One Muscovite in three believes that the power struggle is hindering the implementation of economic reforms.

Forecasts for the future of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] remain pessimistic. The number of people who believe that the Commonwealth is collapsing rose from 24 percent on 2 February to 43 percent on 13 February.

In the estimation of public opinion, not all initiators of the CIS's creation are interested at the present time in preserving or strengthening the Commonwealth: 65 percent of Muscovites are convinced that B. Yeltsin is keen on this. As for L. Kravchuk and S. Shushkevich, only a minority—9 and 29 percent respectively—are of that opinion.

The majority (59 percent) of Muscovites react positively to the idea of re-creating [vozsozdaniye] an autonomous republic of Volga Germans in Russia. L. Kravchuk's proposal to settle Russian Germans in Southern Ukraine and the Crimea prompted protest from 37 percent of those polled.

Last week saw the publication of figures on the CPSU's financial operations. The fact that CPSU money was used to finance commercial structures or to maintain pro-communist nomenklaturas abroad unbeknown to party members was greeted with indignation by 78 percent of former CPSU members and 69 percent of non-party people.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Highlights for 20 Feb

LD2102004292

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 20 February carries a 30-minute edition of its regularly scheduled “At the Russian Supreme Soviet Session” program, including recorded highlights of the Russian Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 20 February.

The program begins with a recorded address by Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Armed Forces, on the recent CIS-U.S. submarine collision, allegations that Russian troops are participating in Nagorno-Karabakh hostilities, and military policy toward the Caucasus.

At 1813 GMT, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is shown addressing the Supreme Soviet on the submarine incident, the presence of Turkish troops near the CIS border, and Nagorno-Karabakh hostilities.

At 1820 GMT, the correspondent reports that Supreme Soviet deputies debated the alleged inadequate television coverage of the debate on the Lenin Library's future and the question of whether the red stars on the Moscow Kremlin towers should be moved to the Nizhniy Novgorod Kremlin and endorsed the candidatures of six Supreme Court appointees.

At 1830 GMT, the program ends.

Shaposhnikov on Collision, Karabakh

*LD2002235492 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Feb 92*

[From the "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Session" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Marshal Shaposhnikov and Foreign Minister Kozyrev were invited to the evening session.

[Filatov, session chairman] The floor is given to Marshal Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces.

[Shaposhnikov] Esteemed Chairman, esteemed Members of Parliament, as you know, at 2016 on 11 February, a collision took place between one of our submarines and an American submarine in the Barents Sea. The incident occurred, in my view, for the following reason. The point is that, in accordance with our law, territorial waters are bounded by a line that approximately repeats the coastline and is 12.5 miles distant from the coastline. That is according to American information, or according to American law.

According to our law, there is a base line. Two points are taken that maximally protrude toward the sea. Points 12.5 miles away from them are marked, and a straight line is then drawn. In the case that occurred, the Americans say that they were not in territorial waters. We say that they were in territorial waters. A conversation has taken place on the subject between the president of the Russian Federation, and Foreign Minister—U.S. Secretary of State—Baker, and they concluded that the last conversation on the subject of how to determine territorial waters was held in 1990, and these talks must be resumed at the present time.

Naturally, we are put on our guard by the fact that this region has been defined by us as our training range. And the American side knows about this—that there is a training range here. Foreign military vessels would seem to have no business in a training range. Therefore, on this topic, we intend to send the Americans a note and invite them to the next round of talks in connection with determining territorial waters in the Barents Sea.

[Filatov] Any questions?

[Deputy Gurevich] I am interested, in general, in such a case: Are there any, let us put it this way, documents that instruct commanders of formations, districts or fleets to notify the local administration about incidents that may have not only a political but, as you know, a different significance—I mean, the safety of an oblast's inhabitants?

[Shaposhnikov] Thank you. There is my directive that in view of the fact that the process of gaining sovereignty is up and running here, soldiers are forbidden to move from place to place without the permission of the administration, theoretically speaking. I have issued a directive

to that effect—that all movements and transfers of military units should be agreed with the local authorities. Regarding incidents, there are old documents which say that if an accident occurs, it is necessary in this event to inform the local authorities. In this case, evidently, the sailors considered that it was merely a political occurrence, since from the technical point of view neither our submarine nor the American sustained damage so serious that it could have led to any technical consequences, explosions, fires, and so on and so forth. Nonetheless, following your question, since it exists, such instructions will be given to our naval and military commanders.

[Deputy Sadenko] Constituency 493. Do you recognize this as a violation of our territorial waters, according to all our naval regulations and others? That is the first question. The second is: Are you satisfied with the actions of your subordinates in this situation?

[Shaposhnikov] Regarding the first case, as a citizen of Russia, I recognize Russian laws, and according to Russian laws, it was a violation by the American submarine. That is the first point. Concerning the actions of—I do not understand who—our crew or our command or—whom do you mean?

[Sadenko] Everybody who ascertains violations of our territorial waters, in accordance with all your orders or directives—I do not know what exists for this eventuality—but our territorial waters were violated. [indistinct voices in hall]

[Shaposhnikov] I see. This matter is so complex that as a result of one incident you could unleash a war which would then benefit nobody. That is how I would answer your question.

Esteemed parliament, I have received a second question on the alleged fact that Russian soldiers are fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh on the side of Armenia. This statement, or this question, emerged as a result of the interview shown on television yesterday with soldiers connected with those events. What do I want to report to you on this matter? There is one unit of the CIS Armed Forces in Nagorno-Karabakh at present, the 366th Motorized Rifle Regiment, which is stationed in Stepanakert. I intended to withdraw that regiment from the region of combat operations after the Interior Ministry internal troops are withdrawn from the district of Stepanakert. As soon as I began to prepare that withdrawal operation, I discovered that the regiment was somewhat under strength: There were not enough drivers and other soldiers there to get out of that region successfully with their equipment. In order to make up the shortage, on my order the commander of the Transcaucasian Military District redeployed several dozen combat soldiers from the region of Nakhichevan to Stepanakert. Those soldiers arrived, and some of them thought that they had been brought there to take part in combat operations, and deserted from their unit. Some of those soldiers have ended up in Baku, and they are there giving the sort of

interviews which you heard yesterday. It is, of course, hard to say now what grounds there are for their claims, because since their desertion our command has not been given the chance to meet those soldiers and to talk to them as the Azerbaijani side is talking to them. So, with regard to this question, it is necessary to take a somewhat wider view.

The conflict is not calming down, but is expanding in breadth and in depth, as they say. In this connection, I want to bring to the notice of the Russian Parliament my statement to the leaders of the CIS states in response to the fact that they concluded a certain agreement, or issued a statement on 14 February in the city of Minsk, when they declared that they would never use armed force against one another irrespective of the conflict situation that existed. So I want to draw your attention to that statement. [reads statement]

To the council of the heads of states of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The events around Nagorno-Karabakh are assuming an increasingly tense and threatening character, the scale of combat operations is expanding, the number of casualties is growing, towns and villages are being destroyed, attempts are constantly made to involve servicemen in the conflict and to steal weapons, military hardware and the stores of materiel of the Transcaucasus Military District. All these actions are fundamentally at variance with the statement of the heads of states of the Commonwealth of Independent States of 14 February on the impermissibility of the use, or the threat of the use, of force, and on the need to resolve controversial problems by peaceful means alone.

The situation is compounded by the persistent attempts of the leadership of the Republic of Azerbaijan to create its own armed forces from the Fourth Army of the Transcaucasus Military District [TMD]—which, in turn, prompts the Armenian side to create its own armed forces too, from the Seventh Army of the TMD. The realization of these intentions will lead to the involvement of regular units and formations of the Transcaucasus Military District in combat operations and will inevitably turn the conflict into a large-scale internecine war.

The development of events in the Transcaucasus is giving rise to serious concern in the states adjacent to Azerbaijan and Armenia. Thus, for example, the Turkish leadership is at present holding exercises with the Third Field Army, which is stationed in areas adjoining the southern borders of the CIS. The High Command of the Unified Armed Forces of the Commonwealth deems it necessary to adopt urgent measures to prevent the involvement of TMD troops in combat operations and to forestall the growth of the conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh. For this purpose, it seems expedient to immediately resolve the following questions:

First, to use all the political authority and the possibilities of the leaders of the independent states to resolve the conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh by political means.

Second, pending a political solution to the problem, to refrain from forming one's own armed forces in the states of the Transcaucasus region.

And, third, to consider the question of forming a contingent of the interstate armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, subordinate to the council of the heads of states participating in the CIS, to maintain order, stabilize the situation and ensure the accomplishment of interethnic tasks by political means. [finishes reading document]

Why did I decide to address—I sent it off yesterday—the heads of states? Because attempts are being made to involve the armed forces in the conflict. Now, let's put it bluntly, the 366th Regiment is in a very difficult position because, on the one hand, it has, in effect, been given the assignment, without any indication so far of the time scale, of leaving Stepanakert. On the other hand, there are people in Nagorno-Karabakh who have said: If you withdraw that regiment, it will withdraw over our dead bodies. We women, old men, and children will lie down in front of the tanks and vehicles in which you are going to leave. So political decisions are needed. And I am categorically opposed to our armed forces' taking part in those conflicts.

[Filatov] People's Deputy Isayev.

[Isayev] Esteemed Yevgeniy Ivanovich, well, first, I fully support your statement and regard it as both timely and correct, and I hope that those to whom the statement is addressed will heed it. But I would like to clarify two points of a purely factual nature on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. At the Minsk meeting, Ayaz Mutsalibov, the president of Azerbaijan, made a statement about a tank assault by the 366th Regiment of the Soviet Army on the town of Khodzhal. My first question is: To what extent does that statement square with reality? And the second question: Last week, practically all the media carried reports on the casualties within the Soviet Army that resulted from the clash. They spoke of 11 fatalities. That is the second fact that I would like you to comment on.

[Shaposhnikov] That is clear. On the first question, no tank assaults are currently being made by the former Soviet Army or the Armed Forces of the CIS or Russia, even though Ayaz Niyaziyevich Mutsalibov always begins his working day by phoning me and saying that your tanks are now constantly attacking some position or other there—to say nothing of the fact that Mutsalibov is using hail- dispersal weapons, banned by convention, against civilians in Stepanakert. But, as for tanks, I tell you once again, neither I nor my subordinates have any information on the subject, and all my subordinates report that no such thing is taking place.

Second, on the question of fatalities. No fatalities of persons of Russian nationality and, even more so, from

the 366th Regiment have been found by the Armenian or Azeri side. [Shaposhnikov leaves the podium]

[Filatov] There is a proposal to take cognizance of the report by Marshal Shaposhnikov. Comments approving his address have been made here, and I would subscribe to that. Most importantly, we are on the threshold of a great occasion—that of our armed forces. I would congratulate Yevgeniy Ivanovich and, as represented by him, the whole of our army on the occasion that is about to begin. [applause]

Kozyrev Addresses Parliament

LD2102111192 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Address by Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to the 20 February Russian Federation Supreme Soviet session in Moscow; from the "At the Russian Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, Marshal Shaposhnikov has already answered some questions about the military aspect [of the Commonwealth of Independent States-United States submarine collision]. I can, perhaps, add some more information about several of them. First, about the Barents Sea, the incident in the Barents Sea. The point is that we discussed the matter with Baker when he was here. First, we discussed it privately. Then the Americans proposed to make it public, to make the report on the incident public. In general, that is unprecedented in Soviet-American relations. Such incidents used to happen previously. It is not a unique occurrence. But they were never publicized by one side or the other. We agreed to that as a gesture of trust that would strengthen the new character of Russo-American relations.

We made a verbal representation to the American side immediately. A corresponding note is now being sent in connection with the fact that we consider that location in the Barents Sea to be in our territorial waters. The American side does not regard it as being in Russian, or the former Soviet, territorial waters, due to the difference in calculating—and I think, perhaps, Marshal Shaposhnikov said this—the difference in calculating the 12-mile zone. It must be said that the Americans have such disputes, not only with us. They have such disputes with Canada and with many states. On each occasion, both sides stand their ground firmly. So that there is nothing special here regarding us. It is just a difference in interpreting the norms of international law. But we made such a representation. Cognizance was taken of it. Our note will also be considered by them.

Now, perhaps, a little more supplementary information about the so-called Turkish incident. The report in IZVESTIYA has, unfortunately, a totally sensational headline, to the effect that Turkey is massing troops there, etc. We have checked the information together with the appropriate services [so sluzhbami], including a

Defense Ministry service. We have the information that Marshal Shaposhnikov reported to you.

At the president's instruction, we have instructed Chernyshev, our ambassador in Turkey, to make an appropriate demarche or to have talks with the Turkish authorities, since, strictly speaking, we have no grounds to make grievances, in the full sense of this word, because, as the marshal has surely reported to you, these exercises have been planned and their scale of up to 7,000 men does not exceed the framework envisaged in the accords on mutual notification. That is why they are not required to notify us. Still, however, we had this talk, through our ambassador in Ankara. We said that in the present conditions of the unfortunate aggravation of the situation in this region we asked for some sort of additional restraint and caution to be shown. Judging by the information we have just received from the ambassador, this was received in Ankara with understanding and without objection. It seems to me that we must somehow make our views on this known, in the sense that we have recently been taking steps to arrive at a mutual understanding with Turkey in order to avoid the kind of situation the papers are now writing about, in what seems to me to be a bit reckless manner—that there is a return to the centuries-old confrontation, etc.

You can interpret anything in this way. But we are working, with the Turkish side, toward turning this centuries-old competition into cooperation in the new conditions, based on the CSCE principles. I have just been talking about this issue with the Armenian and Azerbaijani foreign ministers. They fully support this position. They have this information and they support our steps. We are, therefore, acting in a coordinated manner here.

Now, esteemed people's deputies, I would like to report to you on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. It is one of the most acute questions, indeed it is a question that is acute and one that surely worries us most of all. As you know, I was detained today because of that. The meeting of the three foreign ministers has only just ended. We put forward the idea for this meeting in Turkey, at the conference on the Black Sea basin. It subsequently met with presidential support during the Minsk meeting.

So, during the meeting it was possible to agree on a communique. If you like, I can familiarize you with some paragraphs or even with the entire communique. It seems that this is a document which will assist in the relaxation of tension and possibly additional steps.

The need for an immediate cease-fire in the zone of the Karabakh conflict and for the unblocking of roads and supply lines, in the first place for the delivery of humanitarian aid, has been recognized. Paragraph number 2: The need has been recognized for an all-embracing fulfillment of the obligations undertaken by the sides under the CSCE, in the first place, the renunciation of the use of force or the threat of force and for the

acceptance and approval of the idea of a further enlistment of the peacemaking possibilities and efforts of the CSCE and the UN in the interests of a settlement of the conflict. Next paragraph: Ensuring a stable negotiating process with a view to drawing up guarantees and mechanisms for complying with the cease-fire and for the search for an all-round settlement of the conflict.

Finally, one more paragraph which I will read with special satisfaction: Support for the initiative of the Russian Foreign Ministry for setting up a working group to give assistance to the peacemaking efforts and to prepare the negotiating process, including the question of determining the composition of the participants and of the forms of their participation.

This was adopted unanimously at the meeting. Taking part in the meeting were not only—although the communiqué mentions ministers—there were in fact parliamentarians, representatives of public organizations. Preparing for this event, we also held working consultations and meetings with experts - highly respected people, including people's deputies.

Commodity Law Passed

LD2002162592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1422 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We can hear Lyudmila Semina, who is at the Russian White House. She will tell us how the session is going.

[Semina] Yes, at the Russian parliament today a law on commodity exchanges and exchange trade was adopted. The two basic principles of the organizational activity of commodity exchanges—the freedom of market entrepreneurial activity of the exchanges and state control and the declaration of this activity—were presented in it. [passage omitted]

The law, with the exception of certain articles, comes into force beginning 1 March. [passage omitted]

Generally speaking there were a lot of laws in parliament today which it is planned to adopt finally at a second reading, but so far the only ones adopted are those on commodity exchanges and exchange trade, and amendments have been introduced to the standing orders of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on the law on security; on subventions to the republics, in other words capital, central investments which are also expected in the regions; on a draft law on private detective activity in the Russian Federation—all this was in the program, but they have not gotten down to this yet. There were all kinds of reasons why the deputies expressed their annoyance. I will tell you about one of them in a moment, especially as they still have not started discussing the next law; I am looking at the monitor and Kozyrev, the Russian foreign minister, is on the platform, and further explanation of the situation with the submarine is continuing.

There was one other incident; the deputies demanded an explanation with regard to some information carried on Russian Radio which caused indignation. This is what it was about, briefly: The dismantling of the ruby stars on the Moscow Kremlin has been planned, and the decoration of the Nizhny Novgorod Kremlin is due to begin. It turned out that this was just a proposal by a Nizhny Novgorod social group, and the administration of the oblast sent a report that it had nothing to do with it, but there was such a row about it here that even Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet—he is conducting the meeting—said: Why are such falsifications—and this is not the first time—stirring up public opinion? People must answer for such provocations.

Well, that is the kind of disturbing day it has been at the Russian parliament, and laws still await a decision to be made on them.

Kobets Remarks at Putsch Hearings Cited

PM2102085592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Ivan Yelistratov report: "Army in August Putsch: It Was There But Did Not Participate"]

[Text] The parliamentary hearings which began in the Russian Parliament Tuesday are intended to shed light on the true picture of the participation of the USSR Armed Forces and their leaders in the coup d'état.

The hearings were opened by Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Joint Armed Forces. In his speech he particularly emphasized the fact that neither at the conference in the Defense Ministry Collegium which Marshal Yazov held on the morning of 19 August nor during the subsequent days was a single order issued to use weapons against people.

Touching on the reasons which prompted the putschists to resort to the Army's assistance, Marshal Shaposhnikov noted their basic miscalculation: They did not realize that the democratic transformations in society since 1985 had not bypassed the Army.

The three August days cost the country 15 million rubles. Some 5,000 personnel, 350 tanks, and 270 infantry fighting vehicles were mobilized to be sent into Moscow, and the airborne troop forces had 380 airborne fighting vehicles and 700 units of motor transport equipment. It was only by a miracle, judging by the marshal's words, that the tragedy which might have happened did not happen, for all the subunits responded to the alert at night with their ammunition allowance, virtually ready for combat operations.

Answering deputies' questions, the marshal emphasized once again that during the time that he has been heading the Armed Forces of the USSR, and now the CIS, not a single subunit and not a single officer has received orders

to participate in any ethnic conflicts. Shaposhnikov asked parliament to assist him in withdrawing all armed forces from the Transcaucasus and other hot spots in the country altogether.

Army General K. Kobets, Russian state counselor for questions of defense, who delivered the co-report, declared that as a result of an investigation into the Army's actions during the days of the coup d'etat circumstances have been revealed which are making us reexamine the whole system of organization of the armed forces at all levels.

The majority of the orders at the time of the coup were "sanctified" by the CPSU Central Committee, and specific commands relating to orders were placed in the "alert" packages of commanding officers of units and combined units. The speaker pointed out that on studying the documents the commission members were haunted both by pain for the Army and by belated fear: When the troops were being made combat-ready during those August days, nuclear-powered submarines and surface ships were being equipped with nuclear warheads, nuclear charges were being slung beneath aircraft...

The troops are still living according to regulations which prescribe in black and white "the leading and guiding role of the CPSU."

More on Hearings on Army's Role in Aug Coup

*PM2102130192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 1*

[Captain Second Rank V. Urban report: "The Army Helped the White House in August. But Who Will Help It Today? Regular Parliamentary Hearings in the Case of the State Committee For the State of Emergency"]

[Text] Hearings on the USSR Armed Forces leadership's role in the preparation and carrying out of the coup d'etat 19-21 August 1991 have been held in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. The hearings were organized by the parliamentary commission investigating the reasons and circumstances of the coup, and were led by Deputy Lev Ponomarev, chairman of the commission, and Deputy Sergey Yushenkov.

Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces; Army General Konstantin Kobets, Russian Federation state counselor; and Aleksandr Frolov, Russian Prosecutor's Office spokesman, made statements.

What Was D. Yazov's Role?

Judging by the speeches at the hearings, the August events have taught us a number of lessons. The organizers of the coup did indeed rely on the servicemen in many respects. But this did not work.

It is known that, in the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE], criminal proceedings have now been instituted against Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Yazov, former minister of defense, and Army General Valentin Varennikov, commander in chief of the Ground Forces. It is up to the court to determine whether they are guilty, and so I will only use facts that were cited at the hearings.

Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov, for example, said that Yazov had already held a conference with members of the USSR Ministry of Defense Collegium and chiefs of the main directorates at 0600 on 19 August, when he issued instructions to put the Armed Forces in a state of heightened combat readiness, stipulating that "he does not want any blood." No orders were given to use weapons against civilians or organs of power. The protection of arsenals, bases, military hardware, military installations, and state administrative buildings was reinforced, and joint patrols by MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and Soviet Army troops were organized.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov also said that Yazov issued the order to impose a curfew in Moscow and Petersburg. At the same time, answering a question from one of the deputies, the commander in chief reported a one-on-one conversation he had with Yazov. The minister of defense invited Shaposhnikov to see him after it was announced at the Petersburg rally that the Air Force was supporting President Boris Yeltsin. The marshal of aviation said that his colleagues warned him, saying: You will never return from there. But if Yazov had stayed with the SCSE to the end then I really would not have come back from there, the marshal of aviation noted; after all, during our conversation I told him that the troops must be withdrawn from Moscow.

Why Was the White House Not Stormed

Here are some facts that the investigation into the SCSE case has at its disposal. As Aleksandr Frolov reported, a conference was held in the USSR Ministry of Defense between 1200 and 1500 20 August on mutual assistance between subunits of the Airborne Troops, the MVD, and the KGB for the purposes of storming and seizing the White House. Yazov called in and appealed to those present to act resolutely.

But in the evening, on the instructions of (I will state their former posts) Colonel General Pavel Grachev, commander of the Airborne Troops, an attempt was made to impart information to the defenders of the White House about an attack scheduled for 0300. At about 1800, the deputy minister of defense then reported to Colonel General Vladislav Achalov that an attack was impossible. Yazov was also made aware of this, but he gave orders not to abandon the operation yet.

At around 2300 Colonel General Boris Gromov, first deputy minister of internal affairs, and Grachev agreed among themselves that they would not lead the troops

into the attack. According to the investigation, it was their stance that effectively determined the fate of the White House.

Who Decides That It Was a Criminal Order

Nine deputy ministers of defense, 10 district and fleet commanders, and eight chiefs of main and central directorates were dismissed from their posts for actions connected with the August events. As Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov said, this requires clarification. Practically everyone carried out the directive to intensify vigilance, defend installations, and increase organization, and you cannot reproach them for that. But some people went further, and started organizing rallies in support of the SCSE and issuing instructions that exceeded their powers.

In his turn, Army Gen. Konstantin Kobets noted that the command was largely guided by documents that were adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the government in the first place for the eventuality of the introduction of a state of emergency. The military chiefs' refusal to carry out the provisions of these documents meant that they could appear before a military tribunal. No one knew why heightened combat readiness was being introduced, Kobets said. The activity of the Armed Forces' leadership cadres during the putsch is clear to everyone but, he stressed, the purpose of the hearings is not to reprimand people but to make decisions about the Army's future activity.

It seems that it was not by chance that polemics broke out over what order should be considered criminal and who can determine this? The question proved very difficult. At the moment the following option is being put forward for the drafts of the new regulations: An order is law but the commander bears the responsibility for the legality of this order.

But nevertheless, according to Army Gen. Kobets, the most important thing here is to adopt laws on the Army. As it turned out, the Russian Federation state counselor has sent drafts of the provision on military doctrine, laws on defense, and on the Armed Forces to parliament, but he does not know how the deputies reacted to them. Strange as it may seem, it immediately became clear that the majority of parliamentarians are simply not aware of the existence of such drafts.

... The Commander in Chief's Question to the Deputies

Of course Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov was also asked about the possibility of involving the CIS Joint Armed Forces in the Karabakh conflict. And evidently it was no accident that the commander in chief spoke about his conversation with Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov. "Why are you attacking our troops?" "Because you are not letting us create our own armed forces." According to the marshal of aviation, Gasanov stated that the troops may only leave Azerbaijan over... the dead bodies of women and children, because "we do not care who kills us"—the Army or the Armenian

gunmen. That is the position in which our Army finds itself in the area of the Karabakh conflict.

"I have put to parliament the question of the withdrawal of all troops from the 'hotbeds' and I would like to submit it again with renewed force," the commander in chief reaffirmed his position.

Do the deputies have an answer?

Chambers Discuss National-State Structure

PM2102124492 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 21 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Reports by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA parliamentary observer Olga Burkaleva and ITAR-TASS: "Fourth Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Session: Working Out an Acceptable Formula for Consensus"]

[Text] [Burkaleva report] On 19 February the Supreme Soviet chambers worked separately at the morning and afternoon sessions. The Soviet of Nationalities heard a report by N. Medvedev, chairman of the Commission for National-State Structure and Interethnic Relations, on progress in fulfilling the resolution of the Third (Extraordinary) Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies "On the Basic Principles of National-State Structure of the RSFSR (On the Federal Treaty)." On the Soviet of the Republic agenda, this question was formulated rather differently: The preliminary results of the regions' examination of the draft Agreement on Delimiting Objects of Jurisdiction and Powers Between the Federal Organs of State Power of the Russian Federation and the Organs of Power of Republics, Krays, Oblasts, the One Autonomous Oblast, and Autonomous Okrugs Within the Russian Federation.

Let me remind you that in the course of the discussion of the agenda for the Sixth Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies the question of the Constitution provoked stormy debates. In particular, there are many differences among deputies on the division of the national-state structure. Medvedev recalled that the Third Congress have instructions to draw up a draft Federal Treaty. But the Fifth Congress approved a report of the Constitutional Commission which speaks of a different concept of the national-state structure. In order to reconcile these two options, a working commission was set up under the chairmanship of Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Yu. Yarov, which drew up a draft Agreement on the Division of Powers Between Federal Organs of Power and Republics Within the RSFSR. According to N. Medvedev's report, 14 of the 20 republics did not approve the draft Agreement on the Division of Powers that was circulated to them. The krays and oblasts gave their support to the document. In Medvedev's opinion, the lack of agreement among the republics is prompted, in part, by the fact that they want to own the mineral resources on their territory. However, that is a characteristic of an independent state. Although representatives of the republics at the Soviet of Nationalities gave assurances that there is no question of the

republics' seceding from the Russian Federation, fears that Russia might suffer a repetition of the Union's fate were in evidence in many of the speeches.

The deputies had many questions. Will the fate of the Russian state end up being decided by representatives of other republics? In this connection a reasonable question was posed: Where is the Russian republic, and why is it not being granted powers along with the others? Does the disapproval by the majority of republics for the proposed draft agreement mean that the document has been rejected? No, Medvedev replied. In his view, work on the document must continue. Russia's national-state structure, in his opinion, should be based on the constitutional and treaty principle. O. Rumyantsev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission, supported this view, as well as the proposal to continue work on the agreement. However, in his opinion the commission which worked on the text should not change its composition. The Soviet of Nationalities resolved to take note of Medvedev's report, but decided to form a working group to do further work on the agreement.

The Soviet of the Republic adopted as a basis the resolution "On Regulating Child Maintenance Payments and the Maintenance of Preschool Institutions." It was decided to examine this document with the government and in the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, and to submit it to the joint sitting Friday. The document says, in particular: From 1 April 1992 the payment exacted from the parents, irrespective of their place of work, for the maintenance of children in preschool institutions of enterprises and organizations is to be set at not more than 20 percent of the cost of maintaining the child. Payment from parents with three or more children is reduced by 50 percent. When the resolution is adopted and comes into force, payment will not be exacted for the maintenance of children with physical disabilities or impaired psychological development or for those maintained at preschool tuberculosis institutions.

[ITAR-TASS report] At the evening session the Russian parliament examined one question. In connection with the need to adopt urgent measures to protect the cultural heritage of the peoples of Russia, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet repealed two ordinances of Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin—on the handover of the Shneyerson Collection from the Russian State Library (the former Lenin State Library) to the Maimonides State Jewish Academy, and on the formation of a liquidation commission in connection with the liquidation of the Lenin USSR State Library.

The Supreme Soviet instructed the republic government to ensure the safekeeping, movement, and utilization of the Russian State Library collection exclusively on the basis of existing Russian Federation legislation and international law; and to provide financial, material, and technical support for the Russian State Library, which was assigned to the category of particularly valuable

objects of Russia's national heritage under the Russian President's Decree of 18 December 1991.

At the Soviet of the Republic sitting, draft laws "On Trade Marks, Service Marks, and Designations of Places of Origin of Goods," "On the Legal Protection of Computer Programs and Data Bases," and "On the Legal Protection of the Topologies of Integrated Microcircuits" were passed at the first reading.

At the Soviet of Nationalities sitting the following resolutions were adopted: "On Progress in Fulfilling the Resolution of the Third Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies 'On the Basic Principles of National-State Structure of the RSFSR (On the Federal Treaty),' " and "On the Draft Russian Federation Law 'On the Stepping up of Liability for the Unauthorized Extraction of Amber.'"

Council of Nationalities on Power Demarcation

LD1902193992 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 19 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS—The Council of Nationalities of the Russian Parliament decided to speed up work on a draft agreement demarcating powers between the federal bodies of the state authority and the republics inside the Russian Federation. With this aim in view, a working group was created at today's session to find an acceptable formula of an agreement among all the subjects of the federation together with other representatives of the republics.

The deputies stressed that the republics, some of which were former autonomies are ready to confirm they are not going to withdraw from the Federation. At the same time the federative state power should meet the republics half-way and make it clear what powers it lays claims to and what powers it should delegate to power structures of the republics. Deputies from the former autonomies considered creating lands on Russia's territory absolutely unacceptable.

It is necessary to retain the Russian Federation as a single state and delegate all powers to the local authorities. This, according to lawmakers, must be a dialectical unity of the draft agreement on the demarcation of powers among the federal bodies and local bodies in republics, areas, regions and autonomous districts within the Russian Federation.

Nationalities Soviet To Form Coordinating Group

LD1702161792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Feb (TASS)—The Soviet of Nationalities of the Russian parliament has decided to set up a coordinating group for working links with the Supreme

Soviets of the republics which are members of the Russian Federation. At today's plenary session the chamber adopted a resolution which makes more precise certain questions of relations between the Supreme Soviet of Russia and the parliaments of the former autonomous formations.

One of the important provisions of the document which has been adopted is the question of the ex-officio appointment of the heads of the republican parliaments as deputy chairmen of the Russian Supreme Soviet. The appropriate committees of the Russian parliament have been instructed to complete work on this and then to submit it for discussion by the chambers.

Henceforth, the flags of the republics as well as the state flag of Russia will be placed in front of the White House and also in the meeting halls of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet. This is envisaged by the resolution adopted today.

The commission for national-state structure and the commission for interethnic relations have been instructed to step up their work on the delineation of powers in the sphere of legislative activity and on giving coordinating and conceptual assistance in constitutional and other juridical construction of the republics which are members of the Russian Federation.

Furthermore, the resolution of the Soviet of Nationalities makes it incumbent on the corresponding directorates of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to resolve a number of questions connected with the creation of appropriate conditions for the work in Moscow of the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the republics and other representatives of these parliaments.

Deputies Send Letter to Castro on Human Rights

OW2002123092 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1105 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of Russian MPs [members of parliament] who on February 8 took part in parliamentary hearings into Cuba's human rights record has addressed a letter to the Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

The letter addressed to Fidel Castro says: "Let's remind you that the rights of individuals are not an internal affair. In accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which Cuba signed along with other nations, the world community is a guarantor of them".

Russian MPs urged Fidel Castro to stop persecuting Cuban dissidents and open the country for democratic changes. The document also calls for allowing a delegation of the UN Human Rights' Commission to visit Cuba.

The letter names some Cuban political prisoners: Maria Elena Cruz Varela, Jorge Aracelio Pomar, Gabriel Aguado, Fernando Vazquez Medina, Pastor Herrera, and others.

The MPs urged President Yeltsin to instruct Russia's Foreign Ministry to enter into talks with the Cuban leadership with a view to working out coordinated actions aimed at protecting the individual and property rights of former Soviet citizens who reside in Cuba. The MPs appealed to the Russian President and parliament to step up the efforts to determine the legal status of Cuban citizens, such as students, who wished to remain in Russia.

Deputy Asks About 'Agents of Influence'

PM1802093592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 13 Feb 92 p 2

[N. Garifullina report: "Who Are These 'Agents of Influence'? Speech at Rally and Question in Parliament"]

[Text] Barely had I stepped through the door of my office last Monday morning when a long-standing reader of our paper, Aleksandr Vasilyevich Menteyev, called: "I am 84, so I could not go to the rally in person—it is pretty difficult at my age—but I learned from my grandson that USSR People's Deputy Viktor Alksnis spoke there about a question put to President Yeltsin by Russian Deputy Sergey Baburin about which the press has remained silent. Is there any chance that the editorial team might acquaint us readers with the facts mentioned by both deputies, who are greatly esteemed by the people?"

Judging by phone calls these days, the information conveyed at the rally is of interest to many readers. Fortunately, I kept a tape recording of the rally. I quote:

From the speech by Viktor Alksnis, 9 February 1992:

At an RSFSR Supreme Soviet session the day before yesterday RSFSR People's Deputy Sergey Nikolayevich Baburin addressed a question to Russian President Yeltsin. Unfortunately, our press failed to report on this question, which is of particular interest. As you recall, at a closed session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in June former USSR KGB Chairman Comrade Kryuchkov read out a document signed back in 1967 by Andropov on the subject of "agents of influence." Today it is becoming clear: Even then, back in 1967, it was known that these "agents of influence" included all those who are objects of our suspicion today—all those, from A to Z, from the "children of the Arbat" to the "architects of perestroika." We must demand the publication of this list so that the people might know their heroes. When national betrayal is being committed and everything—Russia, the Army, honor—is being sold down the river we must stop this process.

However, USSR People's Deputy Viktor Imantovich Alksnis only mentioned one aspect of the deputy's question from Sergey Baburin. So in response to readers' request, we are publishing it in a fuller form.

From the deputy's question put by Sergey Baburin:

1. How far and in what way did the personal prosperity of former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev change in the period when he was in power? I am convinced that in the transfer to the new taxation system those persons occupying top state posts should be first to present declarations on their income, and without waiting for 1993.

With regard to the USSR president, the news that his foreign bank accounts were handled by just two people—Kruchina, the CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs, and Boldin, leader of the presidential apparatus—cannot fail to cause alarm. The document listing Gorbachev's personal accounts, those of his wife, and their joint accounts abroad, naming the specific foreign banks and the size of deposits in these banks, is locked in Boldin's safe. It is unlikely that this document was confiscated when the safe was opened, as it had no direct relevance to the August events. I hope you will agree that clarity in the matter of the president's bank accounts is not a private but a state issue. It is undoubtedly preferable to idle speculation.

2. What is the extent of the economic, political, and military damage inflicted upon Russia by Bakatin, former leader of the USSR organs of state security, who handed top-secret Soviet intelligence materials to the United States, including unique technology? What measures have been taken to call Bakatin to account for his actions, which come under Article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code—high treason? And how reliable are the claims that the Americans were simultaneously given information about Western firms that cooperated with Soviet intelligence?

3. In the summer of 1990 [as published] then KGB Chairman Kryuchkov read out at a closed USSR Supreme Soviet session a secret document about a CIA operation against the USSR under the code name "Influence." Kryuchkov's speech was never officially published, but it prompted ironic responses in a number of periodicals. I hope that the publication of facts about which the USSR KGB chairman for some reason remained silent will breathe new life into this irony and inspire the necessary arguments. Unfortunately, Kryuchkov failed to mention that there were two appendices to the document he quoted. The first was an alphabetical list of "agents of influence," and the second contains texts from primary intelligence documents, including documents from foreign secret services on organizing the explosion of the USSR from within. I ask that these documents be published so that everybody can laugh at the latest "KGB fictions." I am convinced that this is in the interests of our motherland.

4. What is guiding the Russian Government in adopting a bland [bezlikiy] stance on Sevastopol, accepting Japanese demands for the transfer of the South Kuril islands to Japan, and making every effort to extradite Erich Honecker to Germany? The former GDR leader and our long-standing military-political ally should be offered political asylum in Russia and the right to travel to any country in the world of his own free will.

Following S. Baburin's question, the session chairman gave assurances that "in accordance with the standing orders, the deputy's question will be passed on to the relevant quarter." Presumably to the president of the Russian Federation. And we in our turn promise our readers that we will report the results of examination of the question.

Russian Deputies Assaulted in Kazan

LD1702172892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1418 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is today working on the latest documents in committees and commissions. There were also some unplanned conversations. Let's hear what Parliamentary correspondent Andrey Nikiforov has to say.

[Nikiforov] Today a group of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation—Shabat, Medvedev, Podopriga, and Lysenko—and a representative of the president of the Russian Federation, Kharichev, held a news conference for Soviet [as heard] and foreign journalists on the results of their trip to Tatarstan, to Kazan. People's Deputy Vladimir Nikolayevich Lysenko made a statement for the journalists.

[Lysenko] A session of the consultative committee of the Congress of the Movement of Democratic Forces of the republics making up the Russian Federation was to have been held in Kazan on 15-16 February. The leaders of the major parties and movements of the republics of the Russian Federation converged on Kazan: from Udmurtia, Bashkiria, Karachayevo-Cherkessia, and so on. But something seemingly absolutely impossible happened. We came to Tatarstan as guests, but instead of hospitality we were greeted literally by an unbridled throng of nationalists who had barricaded the university building and who demanded we should immediately clear away from there—where premises had been put at our disposal by the appropriate city soviet authorities for us to hold a roundtable of leaders of democratic movements.

After we tried to persuade them and explain the aims of our congress, some of our comrades were beaten up, in particular Tatarstan People's Deputy Latypov; Shcherbakov, member of the consultative council of the Democratic Congress, was beaten up, as were a number of representatives of the democratic forces of Tatarstan. And when we went back to our hotel, a crowd of literally enraged people surrounded the hotel and threatened that if we did not immediately get out of Tatarstan, physical

violence would be used against us. Under these circumstances, the members of the consultative council took the decision that it was impossible to hold a consultative council in Kazan under such moral and physical duress, and made a statement that we see that human rights are not being observed in that republic, and that all the declarations by the republican leadership to the effect that they would guarantee conditions for the congress to be held were in practice infringing.

Furthermore, we have serious grounds for thinking that the republican leadership was in connivance with those forces, given that a large number of militiamen stood by when our comrades were being assaulted, and the militia did not intervene at all when this beating was going on. We issued a statement to the effect that we do not identify the people of Tatarstan and Russians with those extreme nationalist forces which were literally trying to terrorize the members of the consultative council. We believe that the people of Tatarstan fosters friendly feelings both toward the Russian people and toward the other peoples inhabiting the Russian Federation.

The decision was made to switch the session of the consultative council to Udmurtia, to Izhevsk: we have been kindly invited today by Udmurtia People's Deputies who were at the congress. And it has been a great lesson for all of us. That is, we have seen in Russia our own Pamyat, Vasilyev's blackshirts, we have seen Zhirinovskiy, who has called for all peoples to be throttled. But here, we saw for the first time in our Russian republics an organization absolutely the same, with absolutely the same type of leaders, but with the idea of the great power status of the Tatar people, with the idea of the absolute supremacy of one nation over others. A great danger for all of us is impending, and if we and public opinion and deputies and parliaments and citizens fail now to take decisive measures, then we could lose everything.

Tatar National Groups Blamed

OW1702192192 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1617 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] We get the impression that the incident of February 15 in Kazan (where a meeting of the advisory committee of the Congress of Democratic Forces of Russian Federation Republics was interrupted—IF [INTERFAX]) was carefully planned by the government of Tatarstan. Russian People's Deputy Vladimir Lysenko commented in a press conference in Moscow Monday [17 February]. Lysenko and his colleagues in the parliament, Vladimir Podoprighord, Anatoliy Shabat, and Nikolay Medvedev, told journalists of the "facts of the assault" on members of the advisory committee of the congress who flew to Kazan at the invitation of the democratic organizations of Tatarstan.

In an official statement issued at the press conference and signed by members of the advisory committee from

the Bashkotorstan, Udmurtiya, Mari-El, Karachayevo-Cherkesskaya, Tatarstan, Komi-Permyatskiy, and Yamalo-Nenetskiy regions it was stated that the assault and psychological pressure put on delegates was the work of the national organizations the All-Tatarstan Public Center, "Sovereignty", and others. In the statement the delegates expressed their surprise at the lack of action taken by local authorities and directs attention to the "rudest violation" of human rights in Tatarstan.

'Clashes,' 'Debates' Predicted for Congress

PM2002140992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 19 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Yelizaveta Leontyeva report: "On the Eve of the Congress. It Is Necessary To Reach Consensus"]

[Text] Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, held a news conference in the Russian Federation's House of the Soviets 18 February.

Question put by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA:

People are talking about the coming congress with alarm. In your opinion, are tension, clashes, and conflicts likely to arise at the congress? And another point: Commentators are beginning to hint that this congress will be a congress of rolling back reforms?

[Filatov] There are 10 sittings planned before the congress, and each one of them will discuss one of the questions to be submitted to the session. Problems of great importance for the country will be examined. First—the Constitution: We can no longer get away with patching it up; second—the economic reform; third—a package of laws on the transformation of the North; fourth—the political situation in the Russian Federation and the Commonwealth of Independent States. And as for rolling back reforms... What is meant by rolling back? The program which was put forward by the government needs to be corrected. But that does not at all mean rolling them back. Corrections must be introduced in the concept of tax reform. In my opinion, we have not got it right yet—incentives to producers are inadequate.

On the other hand we have recently held two hearings—on health care and on science and education. Here and there people could be heard saying: We did not get much, we will have to curtail programs. Yet it is obvious that the budget makes it impossible to give more. The need is there, but there are no resources.

I foresee clashes and debates arising on this basis. A lot of people will be making demands... And some, dissatisfied with the current program, will submit their own program.

It will not pass without recriminations against us. There will be attacks on the government. There will be a struggle for Russia's Constitution. Well, we will try to bring positions on controversial questions as close together as possible.

Leadership Rejects Blame for Chechen Situation*LD2002235292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network
in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Feb 92*

[Excerpt] The Russian Supreme Soviet leadership today rejected the attempts of the Chechen leaders to put the blame for the dangerous developments in Chechen-Ingush on Russian authorities and confirmed their readiness to begin negotiations. The press center has come out with this explanation because a number of anxious telegrams addressed to the Russian Supreme Soviet leadership have been arriving from Grozny containing appeals for help and speeding up the beginning of negotiations on settling the situation in Chechen-Ingush. [passage omitted]

Comparison of Yeltsin Supreme Soviet Address*CM2002191892*

Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian on 15 February 1992 carries in its First Edition on pages 1 and 3 a TASS-SCRIPT report on President Yeltsin's 13 February address to the Russian Supreme Soviet on the results of his foreign visits. Comparison of the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA item, entitled "Address by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Session of Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Held on 13 February 1992," with the translation of the Moscow Russian television version, published in the 13 February Central Asia DAILY REPORT on pages 63-67, reveals the following variations:

Page 63, column two, paragraph six, sentence two reads: ...the captivity of totalitarianism and illusions makes it... (rewording);

Page 64, column one, paragraph five, sentence one reads: ...reductions in warheads on strategic offensive arms to their level of minimum sufficiency, a reduction... (rewording);

Page 64, column one, paragraph seven, sentence three reads: ...CIS received support.

The close personal contacts with the... (rewording);

Page 64, column two, paragraph three, last sentence reads: ...wave of instability and the cold and hot conflicts of the arms race. (rewording);

Page 66, column one, paragraph two, last sentence reads: ...to the limit. (Laughter in the hall).

[Khasbulatov] Second microphone... (supplying editorial notation);

Page 66, column two, paragraph three, sentence one reads: [Sidorenko] Sidorenko, 601st Territorial Constituency. Most... (correcting name and number);

Page 66, column two, paragraph four, sentence two reads: ...so on.

We defined the sphere of his work, which is, moreover, very specific, involving the delivery of periodic reports to the president every two weeks plus Supreme Soviet information on the agrarian reform under way once every month or two months. So let us together strictly monitor the vice president and make him accountable for the actual work and its results.

[Rygachova] Rygacheva, Constituency No. 507... (rewording, omitting paragraph, and correcting name).

Regional Affairs**Gaydar Meets With Arkhangelsk Leadership***LD1902182292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Feb 92*

[Text] A meeting has been held in Arkhangelsk between Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar and the oblast leadership. The managers of the leading branches in the region have put forward to the government projects whose solution will have an effect on the fate of tens of thousands of people, first and foremost those who work in the defense sectors. The fact is that the enterprises of the military-industrial complex are the leaders in the region's economy. The vice premier supported the conversion projects that were presented.

Meanwhile, RIKA reports that Russian exports of weapons along the lines of governmental agreements may amount to \$8 billion this year. Ivan Materov, deputy Russian economy and finance minister, says that these sums could be used to finance the conversion of the defense complex. However, such deliveries are generally being carried out on a credit basis. According to the deputy minister's assessment, this year's revenue will hardly be more than \$1.5 billion. He also revealed that Latin American countries, in particular, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, are showing great interest in purchasing weapons and military equipment from Russia.

Submarine Production To Continue*LD2102002392 Moscow TASS International
Service in Russian 2245 GMT 20 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev]

[Text] Arkhangelsk, 21 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Russia will continue to be a great sea power, which means that nuclear submarines will continue to be built at the major defense shipyard of Severodvinsk.

This was revealed at a news conference by Yuriy Guskov, chairman of the oblast soviet, who referred to the results of the meeting between the Arkhangelsk Oblast delegation and Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar in Moscow.

Y. Guskov also specified that the number of military orders is being drastically cut. The Severodvinsk ship builders put forward a proposal that the production

capacities thus freed could be used for building off-shore drilling platforms. It is envisaged that they will be used to develop the deposits of hydrocarbon raw material on the shelf of the northern seas. This large scale project was backed in the Russian Government.

Further on Gamsakhurdia Visit to Chechen

MK1902122092 Moscow KURANTY in Russian
19 Feb 92 p 2

["V.S." report: "Deposed, But Official Guest"]

[Text] KURANTY's correspondent has been told by Movladiy Udugov, Chechen minister of information and press, that Zviad Gamsakhurdia paid an "official visit" to Grozny yesterday. The day before, according to M. Udugov, the ex-president of Georgia (admittedly, he is not considered an ex-president in Chechnya) had left the village of Senaki (Mingrelia) by helicopter for a region in the northern Caucasus. The leadership of the Chechen Republic sent an aircraft after him, and Z. Gamsakhurdia took a special flight from there to Grozny. He was met by Chechnya President D. Dudayev.

According to M. Udugov, Z. Gamsakhurdia was accompanied by certain members of the Georgian parliament. During the visit, which will last approximately a day or two, D. Dudayev and Z. Gamsakhurdia will sign an interstate treaty (?). When asked where Gamsakhurdia's family is now, M. Udugov replied that he does not know.

'Union of Caucasian States' Discussed

OW2002181592 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1553 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Overthrown Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the leader of the Chechen Republic Dzhokhar Dudayev continued talks in Grozny February 20. Gamsakhurdia arrived in the Chechen capital February 18.

According to an INTERFAX correspondent the two continued discussions from the previous day. The socio-political situation in the Caucasus was one topic of conversation. In particular the center of attention was the relation between Ingushetia and North Ossetia concerning information on the transfer of Ingushetians to the foothills region of North Ossetia and on the union of North and South Ossetia.

Gamsakhurdia and Dudayev are discussing the creation of a Union of Caucasian States which would include the Stavropol and Krasnodar regions as well as the Volgograd and Rostov regions of Russia. They are also considering forming a Caucasus armed forces.

The perspectives of a mutual political recognition of the Georgian and Chechen Republics was also considered.

Journalists were not given the specifics of a communique issued on tomorrow's talks that "new information has come from Georgia and Moscow". [sentence as received]

'Industrial Action' Threatened in St. Petersburg

OW2002155292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1415 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Air controllers at the Pulkovo Airport, St. Petersburg, said they were ready to stage an industrial action out of connection with a general Russian air controllers strike if the airport executives do not comply with their demands. They want to receive 80% of the hard currency from servicing foreign flights, a 6-day work week and better work conditions.

The strike committee declared that all aircraft in the air and bound for St. Petersburg would be grounded at 00:00, February 21, at the nearest stand-by airports, except for medical aircraft and the flights delivering humanitarian aid.

Moscow City Council Cancels Popov's Rally Ban

OW2102121092 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1030 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moscow City Council (MosSoviet) has actually canceled Mayor Gavril Popov's ban on holding demonstrations in Moscow's Manezhnaya Square on February 23 to mark Soviet Army Day. The MosSoviet resolution, dated February 19, states that the Mayor "has no right to ban rallies, street processions demonstrations" and that "under the law the Moscow Mayor has no right to delegate his powers with regard to the matter to any other party."

The MosSoviet authorized the holding of rallies and demonstrations in Moscow on Sunday [23 February], provided the organizers file appropriate applications in good time. It ruled that street processions and other mass actions in Moscow will henceforth require mere registration, not permission from the city authorities.

G. Popov explained his ban on mass public actions in Manezhnaya Square by the plan to hold there a military brass band march and then a series of ceremonies whereby Russia's president, republican and city leaders, and representatives of military and public organizations will lay wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers between 9 am and 7 pm on Sunday.

The Mayor offered the demonstration organizers to hold their action elsewhere—at the entrance of Gorky Park, near the TV center in Ostankino, or outside the Central Economic Exhibition and Soviet Army Theater. However, the WORKING MOSCOW association, the Socialist Workers' Party, the Liberal Democrats led by V. Zhirinovskiy and others are pressing for Manezhnaya Square as

the site of the planned demonstration. They reiterated their demand at a meeting with senior officials of the Moscow Interior Department on Thursday [20 February] (not on Wednesday [19 February] as we erroneously reported in the 18:00 news bulletin on February 20.)

Muscovites Still Optimistic for Reform

MK2002134592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian
20 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by Oleg Savelyev: "People Still Have Faith For the Time Being"]

[Text] It has been decided to hold monthly polls, coordinated by the Center for the Study and Forecasting of Social Processes in St. Petersburg (led by L. Keselman), in order to pursue regular public opinion research among the residents of Russia's largest cities.

The Moscow branch of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions conducted a street poll of 2,177 Moscow residents 15 February as one phase in these studies. The range of answers given below (in percentages) are placed alongside the results of studies conducted by a similar method 18 January this year.

When asked "Do you think that the present introduction of free prices will help to extricate the country from the crisis?" the following answers were obtained from Muscovites:

	January	February
No, or more likely no	47	45
Yes, or more likely yes	31	32
Hard to say	22	23

Answers to the question "Is Russian Government activity helping to extricate the country from the crisis?" were spread as follows:

	January	February
No, or more likely no	43	45
Yes, or more likely yes	26	22
Hard to say	31	33

Muscovites' confidence in the Russian president is still fairly high—this is illustrated by the answers to the question "Is the activity of the Russian president helping to extricate the country from the crisis?"

	January	February
No, or more likely no	32	36
Yes, or more likely yes	44	42
Hard to say	24	22

The humanitaries intelligentsia, leaders of various ranks, skilled workers, and in generally workers in nonstate

structures and people with a high level of education have the most confidence in the president. Unqualified workers and employees without specialized education have relatively less confidence in him.

Magadan Miners Withhold Gold to Treasury

OW2002161292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1415 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Enterprises of the mining association Severovostokzoloto, Magadan region, have not been shipping gold produced in 1992 to the state treasury, confirmed Aleksandr Menshov, acting general director of the association, on February 20. He said in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] that withholding gold deliveries is the last argument of Magadan gold producers in their dispute with the Russian Government concerning the price of gold, hard currency deductions and extension of credits to the mining industry.

Menshov is convinced that as soon as the region sends the first shipment of gold to Moscow, its enterprises will announce an indeterminate strike.

The Russian government is not heeding these demands because the state treasury continues to receive the gold that was produced last year. Menshov believes that as soon as the gold stops coming, the government will have to acknowledge the problem.

National Council Gathers in Nizhniy Novgorod

OW1502160392 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1334 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian National Council [RNC], which gathered in Nizhniy Novgorod on Saturday [15 February], has brought together about 500 representatives of various Russian patriotic organizations from the Russian Federation and other former Soviet republics. The goal of the event is to elect the Russian National Duma (Assembly) and to turn the Council into a political movement.

Professor Yevgeniy Kuznetsov, an organizer of the Russian National Council and the leader of the Nizhniy Novgorod society Otchizna (Fatherland), told IF [INTERFAX] that the participant in the event would discuss the possibility of organizing a mono-ethnic political structure which will defend the Russian people, as well as their culture and economic and social interests now that the multiethnic Russian Federation is falling apart.

This refers above all to hundreds of thousands of Russian refugees who are returning to their homeland—Central Russia, he said.

The patriots who have joined the RNC cannot be accused of being chauvinists or anti-Semites, said Yevgeniy Kuznetsov, and he added that ethnic organizations functioned in Tatarstan, and pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic centers had been set up in the Central Asian countries.

Baltic Republic Creation in Kaliningrad Backed

PM2102114392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 20 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from ROSSIYSKAYA-GAZETA, RIKA, ITAR-TASS, KRYM-PRESS "News" column: "Fourth Baltic Republic?"]

[Text] The idea of creating a Baltic republic on the territory of Russia's westernmost oblast was backed in

an interview on local television given by Yuriy Matochkin, head of Administration of Kaliningrad Oblast and people's deputy of the Russian Federation. Such a proposal was contained in his election program but was subsequently removed in view of the kray's declaration as the "Yantar" Free Economic Zone and the granting of greater legal and economic freedom to it. Now, because of the budget deficit, the government cannot provide the requisite resources, but does not allow the attraction of foreign investments either.

If the decisionmaking drags on, Matochkin stated, the possibility of transforming the kray into a Baltic republic within the Russian Federation cannot be ruled out, this will enable it to pursue economic reforms and build relations with Western partners independently.

International Affairs

U.S. Reaction to Kravchuk Proposal Noted

LD2102100192 Moscow TASS in English
0925 GMT 21 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington February 21 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk's recent proposal to hold talks on nuclear forces among leaders of four CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states with the participation of U.S. President George Bush has attracted the attention of the White House and the U.S. Department of State.

Asked by ITAR-TASS to comment on this report, received in the American capital from Kiev, a representative of the White House stated on Thursday [20 February] that the U.S. maintained contacts with all the four states—Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus—on the ratification and fulfillment of the strategic offensive armaments treaty, concluded between the United States and the USSR.

He said the dialogue would be continued when it came to the discussion of further strategic armaments cuts.

An identical written statement was released on Wednesday [19 February] evening by the U.S. State Department.

Charges Pending Against Crewmen of Planes

OW1902174692 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1640 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The military prosecutor of Ukraine is bringing a criminal case on incident of the removal of 6 Su-24 bombers and fighters from the military unit deployed in the Khmel'nitskaya region of Ukraine; the bombers were taken to Russia, near the city of Smolensk. The bombers' crews were charged with violation of Republic laws and disciplinary regulations for taking the planes beyond the borders of the military regiment (only the commander of the regiment has the right to transport military property).

Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk called on Russian President Boris Yeltsin to take necessary action to return the planes and their crews.

In addition, Commander of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov announced in a press conference Tuesday that the pilots will remain in Russia and will not be handed over to the tribunal; the fate of the planes will be negotiated.

Rukh Cautions UN Against Russian Membership

AU1402133592 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA
in Ukrainian No. 4 (33), Jan 92 p 2

[Appeal "To Leaders of States That Are Members of the UN Security Council" adopted by the Great Council of Rukh on 25 January 1992]

[Text] The Ukrainian People's Rukh [Movement for Perestroika] appeals to member states of the UN Security Council with a proposal to put off by six months the discussion of the question on the approval of the Russian Federation as a permanent member of the Security Council. Our appeal has been dictated by the development of events on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

As a result of the internal processes in the former USSR, the last in the world empire has disintegrated into 15 independent states, and the majority of them are finding recognition in the world.

In the course of this process, Ukraine has become independent and has already been recognized by more than 80 countries of the world.

Ukraine has declared its intention to become a neutral, nonaligned, and nuclear-free country and has begun to implement this plan. By 1994, no nuclear weapons will remain on Ukrainian territory. Ukraine has no territorial claims upon any country. Ukraine has also made a declaration about the recognition of the Helsinki Accords and about its support for the accords on arms reduction in Europe.

However, there remain forces in the political spectrum of the former USSR that cherish the goal of restoring the empire, albeit in a somewhat reduced and reformed aspect. They have chosen the Russian Federation, the largest of the former USSR republics, as the base for their actions.

Unfounded claims upon the role of the only successor to the USSR in the economic, military, and geopolitical spheres are being made at the highest level on the part of the Russian Federation. Having taken under its jurisdiction the property, the army, and the finances of the former USSR, the Russian Federation, in violation of the United Nations Charter and of the Helsinki Accords, has in fact declared an economic blockade of Ukraine, has made territorial claims upon Ukraine, and is trying to transform the troops of the former USSR stationed in Ukraine into occupation forces, as was already done in Baltic states; this may lead to the Yugoslav variant of the further development of events.

In connection with this, we believe that the Russian Federation may only be admitted to membership of the United Nations if it turns to the United Nations with a corresponding statement.

Representative on Relations With Russia

PM1802162792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Feb 92 p 1

[Interview with Vladimir Kryzhanovskiy, Ukrainian official representative in Russia, under the "Own Opinion" rubric; date and place not given: "Vladimir Kryzhanovskiy: Only Talks"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Another serious problem has recently been added to existing ones in Russian life: Its relations with Ukraine have become perceptibly cooler. And although both sides issue reassuring statements from time to time, judging by our mailbag, our readers' concern is not decreasing. We must watch out in case political ambitions start prevailing over common sense, many of them write.

Your PRAVDA correspondent met with Vladimir Petrovich Kryzhanovskiy, Ukrainian official representative in Russia.

[Bykovskiy] Will the disintegration of the USSR be to our peoples' advantage, Vladimir Petrovich?

[Kryzhanovskiy] Undoubtedly. Excellent opportunities have arisen for our countries and peoples to have equal rights. When they are equal, this makes peoples respect one another.

And we need not try and be "brothers." As history shows, brothers may find themselves on different sides of the barricades. This never happens with friends.

[Bykovskiy] It is hard to disagree with your last thesis. However, there really is a conflict between Russia and Ukraine...

[Kryzhanovskiy] I very much like the way Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev put it: There is no conflict between Russia and Ukraine; there are differences of opinion in viewpoint. I would like to add that the actual conflict is the work of the press.

The fact that Ukraine is creating its own armed forces is a perfectly normal phenomenon. This was envisaged by the Minsk agreements, and a specific date was even mentioned for starting the building of the forces—3 January. And we started doing so. But the things that started to go on in the Russian and Moscow television and press...

Obviously the situation in Russia, Moscow and St. Petersburg, is complex, and some people wanted to draw attention away from it to something else. The "something else" was Ukraine.

I would like to stress that the existing differences of opinion can only be settled by means of talks. And these must be talks between states which want to build normal civilized relations with each other.

[Bykovskiy] Depressing experience of recent years shows that a great misfortune can arise out of a small difference of opinion. So I ask you as the official representative of an independent state: Are Ukrainian politicians bearing this in mind?

[Kryzhanovskiy] Practically the whole Ukrainian political spectrum understands that there is only one way of ensuring that Ukraine and Russia move forward in cooperation. I can say frankly that we have also doubtless made some mistakes. But try and understand Ukraine's position. We waited 340 years for the day Ukraine became independent. And the fact that the Russian-speaking population, including in Crimea, has also advocated independence, shows that it believes that Ukraine will defend its rights.

Forced Transfer of Soldiers to Russia Reported

AU1902155092 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA
in Ukrainian No. 3 (32), Jan 92 p 8

[RUKH-PRES report: "Forced Recruitment to the Russian Army?"]

[Text] The Odessa Oblast Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika] reported that officers who had arrived from Russia took away about 40 soldiers from antiaircraft missile unit 25252 who, only the day before, had sworn allegiance to the people of Ukraine. One of the soldiers managed to make a phone call to Rukh and inform us about this. According to him, the Russian officers said that the soldiers would serve in the Moscow region. However, in violation of the Ukrainian law, nobody asked their consent.

Representatives of the Odessa Rukh also said that they immediately appealed to the office of the Ukrainian minister of defense on this matter, but even there nobody wanted to talk to them.

Official 'Surprised' About Fear of CIS Armies

AU1802133592 Vienna DER STANDARD
in German 18 Feb 92 p 3

[Marianne Sajdik report: "Surprised About the West's Fear"]

[Text] In a few weeks' time, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk wants to reshuffle his cabinet. Fossils from the CPSU era will be removed. Deputy Prime Minister Serhiy Komisarenko, however, will also belong to the new cabinet.

During a private visit to Vienna, the scientist stressed in an interview with DER STANDARD the usefulness of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] for the creation of cultural, scientific, and economic links. The future of the CIS is uncertain because the community has not yet consolidated itself. Above all, it is important for

the CIS states to establish economic links within the former Soviet market. Talks with Western countries should be held later.

Komisarenko is surprised about Western fears of national armies: "The USSR possessed a gigantic army. It was a superpower with an enormous nuclear potential. If the Army were split, the major part would fall to the Ukraine. We do not want that. What for? Whom should we attack? Currently, 1 million soldiers are deployed on our territory, which involves enormous costs. We want a national army consisting of a maximum of 400,000 men. We do not want to become a military power. Our biggest concern is how we can get rid of nuclear weapons, and how we can dispose of the missile fuels. We do not have the required technology. We need the help of the West."

Komisarenko is a modern man. After visits to Paris and New York for the purpose of studying, the medical scientist realized that the scientific-technical training at home need not fear comparison with the West. "What we really need is Western management. We do not have the proper training. Humanitarian aid is viewed by many as an offense," Komisarenko stated.

Komisarenko described the conflict between the Ukraine and Russia as a controversy with historical roots. The Western concept of history is superficial, as the deputy prime minister noticed recently during a meeting with former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Kissinger stated at the time: "If Russia invades the Baltic states, this will cause an enormous scandal; an invasion of the Ukraine by Russia, however, would not trigger outrage in the West."

The problem of the West is that it considers the Ukraine a part of Russia. In view of the current controversy about the Black Sea Fleet deployed in the Crimean peninsula, one must support Yeltsin's view that the fleet has always been "Russian," but only on the condition that there was no independent Ukraine. From a political viewpoint, the Crimea belongs to the Ukraine. For this reason, the fleet must be split up, Komisarenko pointed out.

International Conference Discusses Security

LD1402145192 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program
Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Report by station correspondent Ihor Bak from Kiev conference on Ukraine national security]

[Text] Our young Ukrainian state is just getting on its feet, therefore it still does not have many things, including a clear concept of national security. Therefore the Innovation Political Science Center—the Inotsentr—which is an independent organization of political scientists, is now working in Kiev on elaborating such a concept, together with Ukraine's state and executive bodies of power and academic institutions. It is precisely the Inotsentr that has organized this conference with the assistance of several standing commissions of our Parliament and the Ukraine Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Taking part in the conference's work are people's deputies, members of the government, experts and scientific workers of Ukraine, and also well-known specialists from scientific and state institutions of the United States, Great Britain, and other states, including the former republics of the USSR. They mostly examine the external policy aspects of the given problem. Such important issues as political power as a guarantor of security in a sovereign Ukraine, the security of Ukraine in the context of relations with sovereign states, former republics of the USSR, new Ukraine in a new geopolitical situation in Europe, and non-nuclear path of Ukraine's security are also in the focus of attention of conference participants. In the program of the conference I paid attention to the following point: Opposition of the authorities to Mafia structures. What relevance does it bear with regard to Ukrainian national security? I asked professor Mykola Ivanovych Mykhalchenko, political adviser to the president of Ukraine, to answer this question:

[Begin Mykhalchenko recording] In crisis situations structures which substitute the official authorities always appear. In our country such structures have really acquired a mafia nature. I understand that there is a very important point here because these Mafia structures have become, so to speak, the second authority. The official authorities have to oppose these structures and must take away the power which these structures have. If we do that the national security of Ukraine will be guaranteed. [end recording]

[Bak] At the conference it was said that Russian and other foreign mass media often cover the life of Ukraine with prejudice, resorting even to lies, to put it crudely. Therefore foreign guests who are present at the conference can see the real picture in Ukraine with their own eyes. We do not conceal from them how we are implementing the military reform and how we are building national security. But at the same time, the problem of keeping state secrets is very topical for us now. Listen to what Yurhen Kyrylovych Marchuk, chairman of the National Security Service of Ukraine, said in his interview to Ukrainian Radio:

[Begin Marchuk recording] I would like to stress that nobody should have any illusions that work is not being carried out against us. That would be naive, and I must say that active intelligence work by many foreign countries in Ukraine is being carried out even now. We know about that and about attempts to get to our state secrets, which means scientific and technical ones, and especially the military ones. Unfortunately, there is enough of that at present. The thing is that whereas earlier on the KGB used to throw it to the public, as they say, thus creating some sort of a surrounded fortress atmosphere, now we proceed from the premise that professionals should know about it and the public should not be frightened by the idea that there are a lot of spies going around here, and that any foreigner is an enemy. Professionals should know and should be in charge of security. The atmosphere within society should be normal. However,

should the limits of one of the problems be crossed, the National Security Service must tell the public about it in order to take some corrective action on one issue or another. [end recording]

[Bak] It should be noted that this is a scientific conference and, clearly, specific things connected to the national security of Ukraine are not being discussed. However, the organizers of the conference expect that it will produce certain results toward the creation of its concept. Corresponding documents will be adopted. What documents precisely? Listen to what Leonid Sydorovych Tupchiyenko, managing director of Inot-sentr, says:

[Begin Tupchiyenko recording] Three types of documents are envisaged: the first document is conclusions that will be passed on to legislative and executive bodies of power in a short and condensed form—to commissions, ministries, the government, and the president. You see that representatives of all these structures are present. Second, we want to come to an agreement and work out a communique together with our foreign partners—how we see this problem. Third, we want to work out a program of further cooperation among Ukrainian institutions and foreign institutions on this issue. [end recording]

Possible Coupon-Ruble Exchange Rate Discussed

PM1902172092 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Feb 92 p 2

[Nikolay Mironov report under the "Events and Comments" rubric: "Do We Not Need Coupons?"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk—An event that has gone largely unnoticed: The Ukrainian National Bank has announced that it is prepared to sell coupons at the rate of 16 to \$1, 10 to 1 German mark, and 1 to the Austrian schilling and the Japanese yen. I do not know whether anyone abroad wanted to buy these coupons, but there was no ruble exchange rate posted on the board. And I believe that this was not by chance.

Literally one day before this announcement, in an interview with the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY weekly, Russian Central Bank Chairman G. Matyukhin answered a correspondent's question about the present exchange rate of the Ukrainian coupon against the ruble: "There is none; we do not need coupons."

As you can see, the banker dismissed the matter, but there was no point in him doing so. After all, the reality is that the Ukrainian coupons exist. And it is no longer possible to ignore them. For example, the press has started saying that the coupon and the ruble are more or less equal. Admittedly, officially their rate was equal before, and it remains so. It is another matter what value the coupon will keep in the future and how reality assesses it. And there are many factors influencing this.

The first and perhaps the main one of them—the one Ukrainian Premier V. Fokin emphasizes—is that attempts are being made to put into circulation as many coupons as there are commodity resources available. And the fact that the republic was able to get through January without an additional emission of money shows that the first serious step has been taken toward stabilizing the economic situation. Particularly since two currencies are continuing to be used in the republic: the coupon and the ruble. And naturally this makes it difficult to determine the coupon's true value.

"Today you can use the ruble to buy goods at the market, pay for your apartment, buy a train or air ticket, or have a haircut. But the ruble's zone of operations is rapidly shrinking; coupons are preferred at the market. Services will also be sold against coupons in the next few weeks. By the end of March, as the premier is promising, the ruble will be squeezed out of circulation once and for all. Because all earnings will be paid out in coupons. Then the Ukrainian National Bank will be forced to declare an official coupon-ruble exchange rate. And it will either have to really admit its defeat or celebrate victory. Although, in all probability, this process will be in constant opposition with and will depend on the level of production of the same goods that have to keep up the caliber of the coupon. We have nothing to boast about here, it must be frankly admitted.

It is distressing, but Matyukhin's statement that he does not need coupons is now being perceived as a refusal to trade with Ukraine. But can we survive without this? Ukraine is not only an economic area where you can buy many things far more cheaply than in the West, but it is also a huge market where you can still sell uncompetitive Russian-made goods... Reality is forcing us to take steps to accommodate one another, and it is—to say the least—unwise to try and trip up this process. And indeed unprofitable.

Union Leaders Appeal to Minsk on Economy

PM1402175192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Feb 92 p 1

[Gennadiy Aleshin report: "Waging War on the Economy"]

[Text] Enterprise and sectoral trade union leaders from Kiev city and oblast have sent a letter of appeal to the heads of states and governments in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].

In particular it says that measures to help stabilize the economic situation are not being adopted by governments and parliaments. Production and technological links between the sovereign states' enterprises have been violated. In conditions of the strictest monopolistic practices, market relations are to all intents and purposes impossible, and the introduction of licenses and customs houses completes this sorry picture. People have been left without work, and almost half of all processing sector facilities have already come to a halt.

The letter finished with this cry: "Esteemed Presidents and Government Heads! We hope that our concern for the fate of the people and for the economy of the sovereign states will meet with understanding on your part and that it will find practical expression in your decisions and actions 14 February."

Motives for Oil Deal With Iran Examined

PM1802160192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Vladimir Mikheyev report: "Ukraine Chooses Foreign Economic Partners According to Principle of Reliability. Contract To Supply Iranian Oil Does Not Mean Curtailment of Ties with Russia"]

[Text] Ukraine has been prompted to seek alternative sources of crude by the depressed state of the oil and gas industry in the Russian Federation, which has fallen into decline because of the lack of capital investments, as well as by the chronic failure to comply with treaty obligations recently. The agreement between Iran, Azerbaijan, and Ukraine (see IZVESTIYA No. 28) was the reaction to this state of affairs.

According to a statement by Ukrainian Environmental Protection Minister Yuriy Shcherbak, cited by REUTERS, in 1992 Iran will deliver 5 million tonnes of oil and 9 billion cubic meters of natural gas. These indicators will increase the following year and will stand at 6 million tonnes and 12 billion cubic meters respectively. Three pipelines will cross Azerbaijani territory—which will require an investment of \$7 billion. The volume of construction work and its cost lead to this thought: New priorities have become apparent in the foreign economic policy of the leadership in Kiev. Does the orientation toward new partners mean the former ones will be forgotten?

To begin with, let us make up the statistical background to bilateral cooperation between the neighboring Slav republics. Ukraine used to cover by only 10 percent its needs for energy carriers out of internal resources. Russia supplied Ukraine, on average, with 57 million tonnes of black gold annually. Last year a dramatic hiccup occurred: just 41 million tonnes. This year bilateral treaties have been concluded for the supply of just 6 million tonnes of oil. To this must be added the striking lack of fuel oil—which has resulted in the shutdown of thermal electric power stations. Meanwhile, the sowing campaign is approaching inexorably...

There is no need to dramatize the situation, although it is precisely the socioeconomic drama which is being played out that has forced Kiev to conclude a long-term agreement with Tehran that is built not on "payment in freely convertible currency" but on a mutually acceptable barter basis. In return Iran will receive metals, cement, machine tools, and chemical industry output. Of course, there is nothing reprehensible in the desire of a sovereign state that is conscious of the requirements and prospects of internal development to expand the number

of its foreign trade partners. At the same time it gives preference to those who merit trust by virtue of "reliability," meaning by this their economic potential, their reputation as an honest companion, and the good will shown. A question arises wherever there is suspicion: It is a question not of diversifying foreign economic ties but of replacing basic principles of state policy.

This change of topic is prompted by information that, thanks to the superpipeline, which will be commissioned as early as 1995, Ukraine will be able to pump 50 million tonnes of oil into its storage facilities—meeting its annual requirements in full (!). If such a supertask is being posed, we are witnessing a cardinal reorientation of a republic which today belongs to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] toward new sources of raw materials and then, most likely, sales markets too. Does this not signify the start of the curtailment of economic cooperation with Russia?

"There is no question of any curtailment," Eduard Grigoryevich Pershin, leader of the Ukrainian prime minister's press service, told IZVESTIYA's correspondent by telephone from Kiev. "The facts indicate that Russia is keeping Ukraine on starvation rations by not fulfilling its treaty obligations with regard to energy carriers in full. Spring sowing is almost upon us. The electricity supply has been disrupted. This is helping to increase social tension to a certain extent. At his last meeting with Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, Russian President Boris Yeltsin reached mutual understanding, but his efforts to normalize the supply of energy carriers to our republic—oil, above all—seem not yet to be having the desired effect. It can only be assumed that the reason lies in the desire of the Russian Federation's oil-producing autonomous republics and regions to establish direct treaty relations with Ukraine. Probably bypassing the center."

The interdependence of the two republics stood out in relief in my conversation with E.G. Pershin. Donbass mines are experiencing a shortage of pit props, which are manufactured from Russian timber. The threat that agricultural equipment will remain laid up in the spring is already becoming apparent. The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers was recently forced to find internal reserves—to limit the norms for issuing petroleum products, primarily gasoline, to private persons.

The "contract of the century" with Iran has been dictated not by political ambition but by Ukraine's specific and comprehensively realized state interests. The precedent was the contract for deliveries of 25 million tonnes of Canadian grain over five years, which B. Yeltsin concluded in Canada.

Let us return to the details of the trilateral agreement, which arouse legitimate curiosity. During the conversation E.G. Pershin inquired of competent sources—is it true that an oil terminal will be constructed in Odessa with a bigger capacity than the present one to receive deliveries of this raw material by sea? Such plans do

exist, although they have been deferred until the distant future. The existing terminal is capable of receiving 3-4 million tonnes a year. Research has shown that its position is most convenient for foreign tankers.

A statement by Ukrainian First Deputy Prime Minister Konstantin Masik has left perplexed questions. According to a REUTERS report, he said the following: Ukraine "can supply Iran with arms as part of a four-year deal worth \$7 billion." On the one hand, U.S. intelligence warns of the possibilities of Iran's becoming a strong military power by the mid-nineties. To this must be added the news that Tehran intends to begin deliveries of "missile complexes and Chinese-made aircraft" to Sudan (ITAR-TASS). On the other hand, Ukraine has chosen the status of a neutral, nuclear-free state which will rid itself of tactical nuclear weapons by July of this year and of strategic missiles by 1994. Hence the discrepancy. According to E.G. Pershin, and he was present at the concluding stage of the talks with the Iranian side, the subject of payment in weapons for the pipeline was not raised once. We will reckon that the subject is closed.

And the final point. It is impossible not to agree that the two republics are entering the market, and consequently their relations in the trade and economic sphere will willy-nilly bear the stamp of a partnership under competitive conditions. I will add that strict compliance with the "rules of the game" will be the most important guarantor of good relations here.

Deputy Prime Minister Meets Sir Geoffrey Howe

OW 1402173292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1405 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine's military strategy is aimed at transforming the country into a nuclear-free state and rests on the premise of defense sufficiency. First Deputy Prime Minister Konstantin Masik told a delegation of British MPs headed by Sir Geoffrey Howe.

With respect to the external debt of the former Soviet Union, Masik stressed that Ukraine was willing to repay its part of the debt but "would like to know where and on what the money it must repay had been spent."

"What regards the Crimea [as received], we have been guided in our policy by the treaty between Ukraine and Russia stipulating that the two sides do not have any claims to each other, including territorial claims," Masik said.

The first deputy prime minister told his guests about steps the Ukrainian government intends to take to overcome the economic crisis. The two sides also discussed the prospects for the development of ties with over 50,000 of Ukrainians who live in the United Kingdom.

Kravchuk, Brazilian Envoy Discuss Relations

LD1602054992 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program
Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Brazil has become the 41st country with which Ukraine has established diplomatic relations. Anatoliy Zlenko, Ukrainian minister of foreign affairs, and Sebastiao do Rego Barros Netto, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federative Republic of Brazil, exchanged notes yesterday.

Also yesterday the ambassador was received by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. During a frank and friendly conversation, the development of bilateral relations in various spheres—political, economic, scientific, and cultural—was discussed. The president informed his guest about the situation in Ukraine, and about relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States countries. The ambassador noted that events in the former USSR, and especially in Ukraine, are being followed very attentively in Brazil. Our countries, he stressed, have long had strong contacts in the sphere of culture. One would like to see such relations developing in other spheres, too—the more so as there are good traditions in mutual relations between Ukraine and Brazil in the United Nations.

The guest reported that Ukraine's aspiration to be a nuclear-free state was received with satisfaction in Brazil. In this respect our countries have a great deal in common and prospects for cooperation are rather good.

The ambassador gave Leonid Kravchuk a message from Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello, and an invitation to visit that country. They were received with thanks.

First Foreign Ambassador Presents Credentials

LD1802162792 Moscow TASS in English
1504 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev February 18 TASS—FRG Ambassador to Ukraine Count Hennecke von Bassewitz today presented his credentials to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. The count is the first foreign ambassador to the Ukraine and doyen of the diplomatic corps in Kiev.

During the presentation ceremony, the ambassador assured President Kravchuk that he would contribute to the development and strengthening of relations between Ukraine and Germany.

Leonid Kravchuk congratulated him and wished the ambassador fruitful work to the good of the two nations. Then Kravchuk and the German ambassador had a talk.

Government Approves Contract for Polish Planes*LD1702223392 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 2000 GMT 17 Feb 92*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Ukraine has signed a contract with Poland on the acquisition of seven Il-62 aircraft. The fact is that at the moment Russian aviation works are refusing to sell their output to the Ukrainian Government.

Cooperation Accord Signed With Hungary*LD1602140492 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
2200 GMT 14 Feb 92*

[Text] An agreement has been signed in Kiev on cooperation between Ukraine's Ministry of the Interior and the analogous department of the Hungarian Republic. That is the first international act in the history of the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine.

Protocol on Relations Signed With Latvia*LD1402235192 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
0100 GMT 13 Feb 92*

[Text] A protocol was signed in Kiev today on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Latvia, one of the Baltic republics. This document was signed by the foreign ministers of the two countries, Anatoliy Zlenko and Janis Jurkans.

Credit Agreement Approved With Canada*LD2002232392 Moscow TASS International
Service in Russian 1940 GMT 18 Feb 92*

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Trotsenko]

[Text] Kiev, 18 Feb (TASS)—Ukraine will receive 50 million Canadian dollars under a document signed here today by Ukrainian Vice Prime Minister Oleg Slepichev and David Hilton, director of the European department of the Canadian firm IDC of Canada. The resources made available will go toward the acquisition of medicines. Part of the credit will be payment to the Canadian side for expenditure connected with the printing of Ukrainian money.

National Affairs**Military Official Comments on Forming Army***AU1902184992 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA
in Ukrainian No. 4 (33), Jan 92 p 5*

[Interview with Vitaliy Lazorkin, senior consultant to the Ukrainian defense minister, by Oleksiy Redchenko; place and date not given: "The Convoy Continues Its Way...."]

[Text] [Redchenko] Vitaliy Illich, will the All-Army Officers Conference that was held in Moscow have any consequences for the development of the Ukrainian Army?

[Lazorkin] It was a congress of a public organization outside Ukraine. What has a public organization of another state to do with our internal affairs? The goal of the organizers of this conference is clear: to maintain a unified armed forces of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. However, the CIS is not a state and not a subject of international law. Therefore, the categorical demands to maintain, as "single and indivisible," the army of the no longer existent USSR indicate that the participants in the conference have a poor understanding of what is under way on the territory of the former union. The open insults in the address of the Ukrainian state, its president, and the Ministry of Defense provide a perfect characteristic of the level of this congress....

Those speeches that dealt with misfortunes of the servicemen deserve attention. However, who is responsible for getting the army into such a situation, who led the servicemen and their families to impoverishment and, at the same time, shamelessly stole from the military budget and used "cheap" military force to construct luxurious summer houses and garages and made arrangements for his own children to occupy general's posts? For some reason, these questions were not dealt with at the conference....

[Redchenko] According to Commander Shaposhnikov, a special military oath for strategic forces was elaborated at the Moscow General Staff headquarters.

[Lazorkin] Shaposhnikov wants to impose upon us his idea regarding taking an oath by the strategic troops. However, I believe that in view of the fact that Ukrainian citizens will serve in strategic troops, they must swear allegiance to the people of Ukraine. Generally speaking, those who take our military oath today join the Armed Forces of Ukraine. If somebody, for some reason, refuses to do so, he will not join our Armed Forces and must decide: Either he continues his military service outside Ukraine or leaves the ranks of the Armed Forces. This also refers to the strategic troops.

Let me quote an example. Representatives of transport aviation visited us recently. In Moscow, they are regarded as a constituent part of strategic forces. However, 98 percent of the personnel of the regiment stationed in Kryvyi Rih want to take an oath of allegiance to Ukraine and ask to be considered as a constituent part of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

[Redchenko] Incidentally, aviation is mentioned much less frequently than the fleet. At the same time, Shaposhnikov believes that the entire air force constitutes strategic forces....

[Lazorkin] The composition of strategic forces must be determined with the consent of the leaders of states. Consequently, the Ukrainian president alone can finally

decide which of the troops that are presently deployed on the territory of our state will become a part of the strategic forces.

As is known, the air force involves fighters, transport aviation, tactical aviation, helicopters, and strategic bombers. We do not need the latter, because there will be no nuclear weapons on our territory. We do need everything else. Besides, transport aviation will enable us to earn currency.

Let me also point out that the decrees, which Shaposhnikov issues in his own country and tries to disseminate within the Ukrainian troops without consulting us, are not valid here. The actions of the Moscow General Staff behind the back of the president and the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense amount to interference in our affairs.

[Redchenko] How does the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense communicate with the troops, and has the technical system of control over the nonuse of nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory been created?

[Lazorkin] Starting in January, the communication for the command of the troops was transferred from Moscow to the Headquarters of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense in Kiev. At the same time, the nuclear keys are known to be held by Yeltsin and Shaposhnikov. A conference type communication system [konferents-zvyazok] will be created between presidents of those states that have nuclear weapons on their territories. Ukrainian President Kravchuk will have a system for blocking the launching of missiles from our territory, unless such a launch is coordinated with Ukraine.

[Redchenko] Will the creation of such a blocking button lead to a worsening of the relations between the leaders of Russia and Ukraine?

[Lazorkin] By no means, because we have long and repeatedly said about this intention.

[Redchenko] At the beginning, the talk was about the removal of tactical nuclear weapons from Ukraine by July 1992. It is already the beginning of 1992. What is the reason for this delay, and will the nuclear warheads actually be destroyed and not stored at corresponding plants in Russia?

[Lazorkin] It turned out that there are no sufficient capacities for an immediate elimination of tactical weapons. International agreements of the former USSR on the reduction of nuclear weapons provide for the elimination of such weapons, and inspectors from Western countries will take part in the actual destruction.

[Redchenko] Vitaliy Illich, please tell us briefly about the numerical strength of the troops.

[Lazorkin] In accordance with recent estimates based on the information that we have finally obtained, about 550,000 servicemen are presently stationed in Ukraine.

It is only these troops that Ukraine has been financing since January 1992. In the process of reduction, we plan to first reach the figure 450,000 and then continue gradually reducing the army. However, it is difficult to estimate the final numerical strength of the Armed Forces now, because this will also depend upon the international situation.

[Redchenko] The cadres.... This is, perhaps, the most important thing for the young Ukrainian Army....

[Lazorkin] Yes, generals and officers who will be appointed to leading posts at the Ministry of Defense will be questioned at the Commission for Questions of Defense and Security and at the Presidium of the Supreme Council. It is time to revise the cadres of the leading personnel of districts, armies, and divisions, because quite a number of officers and generals do not accept the idea of our independence, despite the fact that dozens of countries have recognized Ukraine as an independent state.

[Redchenko] NARODNA HAZETA regularly receives letters from our compatriots who serve outside Ukraine. They ask this question: "How can I return to serve in Ukraine and for Ukraine?"

[Lazorkin] About 300,000 of our citizens—officers and warrant officers—serve in the army in the countries of the CIS. By now, the Ministry of Defense has received 40,000 appeals with requests to help people return to their motherland for the continuation of army service. The Ministry of Defense is making the first steps in this direction. We cannot immediately create appropriate social conditions and provide everybody with corresponding positions and, for that reason, we first bring back those who have housing in Ukraine. We will also compile lists of those who for some reason do not want to serve in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and will exchange servicemen with other CIS states.

Our further policy will be directed toward creating conditions for the return of all those who wish so in the future. A very complicated and laborious task lies ahead, but I ask everybody not to despair and to send applications to the following address: Ukraine, Kiev-9, Bankivska 6, Administration for Personnel of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense.

Military Officer Discusses Doctrine Problems

AU2002183392 Kiev HOLOS Ukrayiny
in Ukrainian 28 Jan 92 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Vasyl Vasylyovych Durdynets, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security, by Petro Datsenko; place and date not given: "Not a Single Step Outside the Law"]

[Text] Problems of a practical creation of the Armed Forces of our independent country occupy a major place in

the development of Ukrainian statehood. We asked Lieutenant General Durdynets, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security to share with us his thoughts on military development.

[Datsenko] Vasyl Vasylyovych, over a short period of time—less than one year—the commission chaired by you has submitted six bills and 20 resolutions for discussion by the Ukrainian Supreme Council. All of them have been adopted. In addition, draft resolutions, decrees, and orders on ensuring defense and state security, 70 documents altogether, have been prepared. They have constituted the first package of laws dealing with questions of the military sphere. There will probably be another package....

[Durdynets] That is right. The commission, jointly with specialists from interested ministries, departments, and public organizations, is eagerly working on the second package of bills. It is, in fact, ready. It comprises bills on the compulsory conscription, military service, pensions for servicemen and employees of the Ukrainian Internal Affairs organs, the status of troops stationed on the territory of Ukraine (I mean strategic forces), the Ukrainian National Security Service, the conversion of defense industry, and civil defense. We are also preparing drafts of legislative acts on the rights and obligations of the personnel of the Ukrainian National Guard, on the structure and numerical strength of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, border troops, organs of governmental and cipher communications, and so on. A draft military doctrine of Ukraine is also ready.

[Datsenko] Please outline the foundations of our state's policy in the military sphere.

[Durdynets] First, it has been established by law that Ukraine will never allow the use of its Armed Forces, National Guard, or other military formations against the people of Ukraine, peoples of neighboring sovereign states, or for resolving internal interethnic conflicts. It has a single humanitarian goal—to guarantee peace and quiet on its own territory. Incidentally, this is also clearly stated in the military doctrine that we will very soon submit for discussion at the Ukrainian Supreme Council session.

Second, Ukraine, as a sovereign state, will now independently resolve all questions of its defense and security, will consecutively develop the concept of preventing war, and will ensure the security of our own state by way of nuclear deterrence and support for optimal conventional Armed Forces.

[Datsenko] There have been many assumptions in the press about the possible numerical strength of the Ukrainian Armed Forces—from 90,000 to 420,000, and some people talk about a one-half million strong army....

[Durdynets] In my opinion, all speculation about the numerical strength of the Ukrainian Armed Forces is premature, because the Supreme Council has not yet

adopted a decision on this question, and this is within its competence. A reform of the troops deployed in Ukraine will be carried out stage by stage and, of course, in the direction of reduction. Besides, proceeding from the principle of defense sufficiency, it is necessary to comprehensively weigh all factors—actual possibilities, needs, and the situation and not to forget that all of these involve individual human fates of those who have devoted their lives to military service. Let me also recall that Ukraine has confirmed its readiness to fulfill international obligations particularly regarding conventional armed forces in Europe.

[Datsenko] However, the moods in the army are not simple. Passions are also fueled in the former central mass media; nor have individual politicians refrained from sharp statements. How do you assess all of this?

[Durdynets] The impertinent and I would say insolent tone of the statements by some high-ranking military leaders and individual state and public figures of Russia and by reporters who speak through the Moscow mass media give rise to particular indignation. It is obvious that they do not have an idea of the actual situation in Ukraine and do not want to know about its legal approach to resolving all military questions.

First, Ukraine is an independent state. This is a real historical fact, and, therefore, ignoring it will not lead anywhere. The process of creation of the Armed Forces in Ukraine has become irreversible. The will of the people manifested at the All-Ukrainian referendum and the legal base regarding military development are behind this process.

Therefore, the hubbub and the prejudiced interpretation of the position assumed by Ukraine are absolutely groundless. They cannot halt this process and will not contribute to civilized interstate relations.

Second, there are internal social, political, economic, legal, and ethical aspects of the problem. We are aware of them and are consecutively resolving them. The Ukrainian Defense Ministry has been created. The parliament and the president of Ukraine have adopted decisions on the practical organization of the Ukrainian Armed Forces based upon the troops of the Kiev, Odessa, and Carpathian military districts, a part of the Black Sea Navy, and other military formations that are stationed on the territory of Ukraine, with the exception of those troops that will, on a coordinated basis, become a part of Strategic Forces.

The adoption of the oath of allegiance, the text of which has been approved by the Supreme Council, will proceed in accordance with the Provisional Resolution on Taking the Oath of Allegiance. Of course, certain inconsistencies do emerge. They are mainly due to the fact that this process has only recently started and that still many servicemen are not sufficiently familiar with the legislative acts of Ukraine regarding military questions and have not understood individual questions about

everyday life. In my opinion, all of this will be settled in the near future. There is no need to unduly dramatize the situation.

New bills have recently been published: "On the Compulsory Conscription and Military Service" and "Pensions for Servicemen and Employees of the Ukrainian Internal Affairs [Ministry]." These documents will be discussed at the next session of the Supreme Council. Even a cursory review of them gives an answer to numerous questions that are bothering servicemen today. Clear explanations are also contained in the Ukrainian president's appeal to those servicemen who serve on the territory of Ukraine and outside it.

Thousands of letters are received by the commission and by the Ministry of Defense. Servicemen express their ardent desire to serve the people of Ukraine. This is also evidenced by the appeal adopted on 9 January by the participants in the All-Ukrainian Conference that dealt with issues of the development of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The data on the course of giving the oath of allegiance are also quite telling. Over the first weeks, about 270,000 servicemen have pledged allegiance to the people of Ukraine. This proceeded in an organized and festive manner in the units of the National Guard and border troops of Ukraine. This means that our Armed Forces are being really born today.

[Datsenko] However, precisely at the same time, entirely different sentiments were expressed at the All-Army Officers Conference....

[Durdynets] Well, we were again called upon to agree to yet another transitional period and a single defense area and were asked to wait until the beginning of military reform. We are called upon to wait for final decisions to be adopted by the leaders of states that are participants in the commonwealth, to have joint Armed Forces with a single command, a single text of the oath of allegiance for the CIS troops, and many other old things in a new verbal rendition.

In this connection, I want to authoritatively declare: We have a more than sufficient legal basis regarding questions of the military sphere. We reject all attempts to create tension around the fact that Ukraine wants its own Armed Forces, Border Troops, and the National Guard to defend its sovereignty. Finally, this is simply interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. It is time to realize this.

I call upon the command and the personnel of all military formations stationed on the territory of Ukraine to show restraint and understanding of the processes that are under way, to maintain calm, order, and military discipline, and to serve honestly and conscientiously.

To conclude our conversation, I want to stress that the Ukrainian Supreme Council Commission for Questions of Defense and State Security is making its own contribution to this exceptionally important cause. Apart from elaborating legislative acts, it is taking a direct part in

their practical implementation. The working collectives, servicemen, young people, veterans, parents, and public organizations show great interest in its activity. Figuratively speaking, our doors are never closed. We are trying to provide clear explanations to all questions, to help, and to inspire confidence in the people.

This is generally what our commission is concerned with and what it works on.

Nuclear Safety Committee Established

LD1502144592 Moscow TASS in English
2017 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM-TASS]

[Text] Kiev February 14 TASS—The Ukrainian State Committee on Nuclear and Radiation Safety has been recently set up to provide for efficient state regulation and control over safe uses of nuclear energy and radiation technologies.

The Committee was established under a resolution of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers on the basis of the State Committee for Supervision Over the Safety of Work in Nuclear Power Engineering.

It will elaborate principles, norms and rules of the use, transportation and storage of nuclear materials and radioactive substances at all enterprises and organizations. The Committee will also carry out scientific research to upgrade the safety of nuclear power engineering and radiation technologies and solve physical and technical problems of the radiological protection of the populations.

The new establishment will include the main state inspection for supervision of nuclear and radiation safety.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1921 GMT on 14 February, in a related item, adds the following:

["Kiev February 14 TASS—by UKRINFORM-TASS: An interbranch scientific and technical center 'Ukrytiye' (Shelter) is being set up in Chernobyl to upgrade work on turning the devastated fourth power unit of the Chernobyl nuclear power station into a durable ecologically safe system for a period by the complete storage of nuclear fuel and radioactive substances located in the object.

["The center, established under the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, will use domestic and foreign technologies to fulfill these tasks."]

Support for Crimean Independence Growing

LD1902220192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 0800 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] In the Crimea about 20,000 signatures have been collected in the past 10 days in support of a referendum about the independence of the Crimean republic. The

referendum can be held if 180,000 signatures are collected within two months. The organizers of the action say the initial results are hopeful. The Ukrainian authorities are worried about the possible referendum. They have promised greater independence to the Crimea as well as to the creation on its territory of a free economic zone.

Crimean Tatars Seek Greater Role in Future

*MK1802115192 Moscow Radio Sto Odin in Russian
1600 GMT 12 Feb 92*

[Andrey Tumanov report from the Crimea]

[Text] And now Radio Sto Odin correspondent Andrey Tumanov reports from sunny Crimea, where the problems are far from sunny.

[Begin Tumanov Recording] The main problem of the Crimean Tatars, according to Arafat Chubarov, deputy chairman of the Majlis of the Tatar People, is the question of raising Crimean statehood from territorial coordinates to the level of a national territorial formation. At present, Arafat Chubarov said, we do not seek the separation of Crimea from Ukraine, but we do consider that, without the restoration to the Tatars of their age-old historical rights, Crimea as a state will not exist.

The Majlis also drew up a draft alternative constitution for Crimea which envisages the establishment of a bicameral parliamentary republic. The view of the Majlis is that the parliament must consist of two chambers, one of which must be elected along territorial lines while the second, which will actually be known as the Majlis, must be formed from among the Crimean Tatars.

According to Arafat Chubarov, the chambers will not give a predominant influence to any one nation living in Crimea. In general, the reaction elicited by this kind of assertion among other peoples of the Crimea cannot be very acceptable, to put it mildly.

It was also noted during discussions that the Majlis does not recognize the present Supreme Soviet of the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], although it has unofficial contacts with the republic's parliamentarians and will boycott the coming referendum on the future of Crimea. The likelihood that the referendum will be held is increasingly less open to doubt. Concerning Kravchuk's well-known statement on the problem of returning Soviet Germans, Arafat Chubarov said that the Germans must be repatriated, but only those who in fact have some relationship with Crimea. He said that there would be no more than 15,000 of them.

The Majlis itself is the most influential Tatar organization and it is the Majlis which determines the position of Tatars on any issue. Arafat Chubarov did not exclude the possibility of a future tough confrontation between the Tatars and Russian-speaking population, but only if this

is introduced from outside. The Crimeans themselves—Russians, Tatars, and Ukrainians alike—are mainly engaged in a search for what we all call food. They mainly abuse Kravchuk and have nicknamed him Coupon Number One. [end recording]

Official Denies Political Prisoners Held

*LD1602135992 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
2200 GMT 14 Feb 92*

[Text] Human rights issue in Ukraine was discussed at the press conference which was given for Ukrainian and foreign journalists by the chairman of the Standing Commission of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine on human rights, Oleksandr Yemets. He dwelled on the participation of the commission in the legislative activity of the Supreme Soviet. Discussed were changes and amendments to the Ukraine constitution, adoption of laws on the order of the registration of public organizations, the fulfilment of international agreements.

It was pointed out that being currently formed in Ukraine is the system of pluralism and human rights protection.

To the question of journalists whether there are political prisoners in Ukraine, Oleksandr Yemets replied that according to the data he possesses there are no such prisoners in our state.

Supreme Soviet Deliberations, Decisions Reported

Draft Law on Constitution Passed

*LD1602135792 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
2200 GMT 14 Feb 92*

[Text] Today [14 February] the session of Ukraine's Parliament continued its work in Kiev. The MPs [members of parliament] passed the draft law on changes and amendments to the constitution of Ukraine. These amendments expand the rights of the president, thus consolidating executive power for the effective economic management.

The Parliament approved, in its second reading, the draft law on collective agricultural enterprise. This draft law is geared at ensuring complete independence of all interior associations of citizens in agriculture which function on the basis of entrepreneurship and self-government.

Today the Parliament members passed a law on culture. The state guarantees financial support to culture in the amount of eight percent of the gross national income of Ukraine. The deputies also took a resolution on the management of the property of enterprises, associations, establishments, and organizations. It is aimed at preventing unsanctioned denationalization and privatization.

Strength of Border Troops Set

LD1402185592 Moscow TASS in English
1712 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Text] Kiev February 14 (TASS)—The Ukrainian parliament's session today established the strength of the republican border troops at 25,000 servicemen and employees working on labor agreements.

A total of 1,304 million roubles have been allocated to finance the troops in 1992. The Ukrainian border troops, created on the basis of formations of the former western border district of the Soviet State Security Committee, now unite 17,000 people, as it was established back in the 1960s. However, this is not enough now, since the number of persons and vehicles crossing the state border has increased by two or three times.

Anti-Monopoly Law Adopted

LD1902195292 Kiev Radio Kiev International
Service in English 0100 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine continued its work today in Kiev. With a minute of silence the deputies revered the memory of their 29-year old colleague, TV journalist Vadim Boyko, who tragically died on the 14th February. According to the official version, his TV set blew up and his apartment caught fire. Investigation of the incident continues. There also exist other unofficial versions of Vadim Boyko's death.

Today the deputies passed the anti-monopoly law of Ukraine in its second reading. This law provided legal basis for limiting and preventing monopolism and unfair business competition. The adherence to anti-monopoly legislative norms will be controlled by the state. This law is valid on the entire territory of Ukraine, taking in all economic objects regardless of their form of ownership and management, operating in the spheres of production, administration, planning, trade, investments, banking, insurance, and foreign economic activity. At the present time there are close to 1,000 enterprises monopolies in Ukraine.

Adopted today were laws on the introduction of changes and amendments to the code of laws on labor and on the abrogation of other legislative acts. All changes and amendments deal with the solution of labor disputes, expansion of the rights of commissions of the People's Courts during the examination of appeal of the workers who for one reason or another were sacked. The new law provides better protection of the rights of the workers.

Abrogated were eight resolutions adopted by the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine as far back as early 1930s.

Also adopted today was the law on criminal investigation. Such a law is the first of its kind in the history of

Ukraine and it expands the possibilities of the law and order bodies in the fight against crime. The law takes on force from the moment of its publication.

The entire evening sitting was devoted to discussing changes and amendments to the criminal and criminal procedure codes of Ukraine [as heard], in particular the chapter on state crimes. The deputies pointed out a number of shortcomings in the draft document and rejected it.

Alternative Service Draft Approved

LD2002224992 Kiev Radio Kiev International
Service in English 0100 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Today the fifth session of Ukraine's parliament continued its work in Kiev. [passage omitted] At the evening sitting the people's deputies approved in its third reading the draft law on alternative military service. In compliance with this law members of various religious congregations registered by the state can serve [word indistinct] Army units if their faith does not allow them to handle weapons. Also approved today were amendments to the law on banks in Ukraine. The National Bank of Ukraine thus became a guarantor of the credits provided to the enterprises exporters. The deputies examined the issue on Ukraine's diplomatic representations abroad. It was decided that it would be a prerogative of the Supreme Soviet only to decide on where to open Ukraine's embassies. Two new deputy factions were registered in parliament. One of these is called "For Social Justice" and another one "New Ukraine". Both come out for the further development of democracy, market relations in economy and social protection of the population. The difference is in the approaches of the two factions towards a solution of the above issues. Tomorrow the session of Ukraine's parliament will continue its work in Kiev.

Kravchuk Issues Decree on Conserving Fuel

LD1902084592 Moscow TASS in English
2106 GMT 19 Feb 92

[By unidentified UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kiev February 18 (TASS)—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a decree to economize combustibles and lubricants.

The republican government has been instructed to use oil products mainly for the needs of the agro-industrial complex, by reducing fuel use and using resources of the Ukrainian Defence Ministry if necessary.

The fuel supplies of service cars from enterprises of all types of property and personal cars will be reduced by two in February-May, 1992, in comparison with the level of 1991.

Kravchuk Talks With Agro-Industrial Group*LD1602113492 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program
Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 13 Feb 92*

[Excerpt] A meeting took place in Kiev yesterday between Ukrainian President Kravchuk, Prime Minister Fokin, and representatives of the agro-industrial complex. Our correspondent Vitaliy Naumenko reports.

[Naumenko] The preparation of farms for spring and the structure of the agrarian sector management was examined. The discussion was emotional and quite a few critical remarks were directed at the president about the biased attitude to collective and state farms from the leaders of farms, farmers, representatives of the bank and exchange structures, and deputy chairmen of the oblast executive committees.

If one casts aside everything superfluous, as it were, two opposed opinions can clearly be traced: one on protecting and preserving the system of collective and state farms with a slight polishing of the facade, and the other one calling for its complete abolition or radical modernization. The Ukraine president has clearly expressed himself for a balanced approach and for keeping strong farms—and there are many of them in the republic now—which have proved themselves to be efficient and produce a considerable amount [word indistinct]. The same position was also typical for some speeches. [passage omitted]

[Naumenko] Unfortunately, many speakers, although they touched upon the burning topics of modern villages, about which we all very well know and sympathize with, still could not rise to a comprehensive perception of those problems facing Ukraine's agriculture today. They cannot be noted for their tolerance toward the president and the prime minister.

Ukrainian President Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk delivered a speech. This morning Kolos radio station has already presented a detailed account of yesterday's event. Therefore I present some most interesting fragments from the president's speech.

[Begin Kravchuk recording] Esteemed friends, no matter what they say here and no matter what river is used to divide us, what banks would be built and what stone walls would be raised—still I think our meeting is useful. Moreover, it is the first one. We need to meet more often and listen to each other, and not only listen but also act. If one takes [word indistinct] then, again fuel, in my opinion, in this aspect is the most important thing. Vitold Pavlovych [Fokin] said at the beginning that we had certain improvements here.

I want to tell you that I intend, and we have already talked about this, to issue a decree (of intentions) in

which ways of cutting down on fuel should be determined. In the first place gasoline and all other things for all government and administrative structures are to be reduced by half—by 50 percent—starting from the president and down to rayons. I think that the men and women will have to walk for a while—nothing will happen. The gasoline has to be given to collective and state farms. [Words indistinct] we will probably borrow somewhere, somewhere where there is enough of it. Thirdly, we still intend to try to obtain the fuel which should be delivered in February and March, and it will be delivered to us. We can thus tell you that most resolute measures will be taken in order to provide collective and state farms and everything connected to the sowing season with fuel and lubricants. [end recording]

Waste Involved in Scrapping Warship Criticized*PM1702123592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 12 Feb 92 p 1*

[Captain First Rank V. Tyurin report as part of a feature under the general heading "Millions Frittered Away, and Begging for Charity": "Taking an Oxyacetylene Torch to the Cruiser"]

[Text] I received alarming news the other day from military representatives of the Navy's Main Shipbuilding Directorate at the Nikolayev "Black Sea Shipbuilding Plant" Production Association in Ukraine. On 5 February 1992 the heavy nuclear-powered aircraft-carrying cruiser "Ulyanovsk" began to be broken up for scrap in execution of Ukrainian Government Ordinance No. 69-R of 4 February, which was adopted unilaterally. Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk explained this decision as due to the "redundancy of this ship in our fleet."

Surprising things are going on. You see, the best aircraft-carrying ship which in a short time could become part of the Navy, is going to be thrown away as scrap. In actual fact the combat potential of this firstborn of nuclear aircraft-carrying shipbuilding is considerably better than that of ships of this class which are equipped with conventional steam power.

I must remind you that work on the "Ulyanovsk" was suspended in November of last year although it had gone apace up till then, which had allowed the plant to supply without any disruptions 20 percent of the ship's planned technical readiness. At the time this cost the USSR 170-180 million rubles [R] in 1991's prices. When the "Ulyanovsk's" keel was laid, Navy and industrial economists valued its initial "full construction" cost at R800 million. But the breaking up of the ship for scrap will cost the treasury a sum equivalent to approximately 80 percent of the initial full construction cost, that is more than R640 million. If we add to this the cost of work done, we will see how much of the people's money will be frittered away—almost R820 million.

Union Collapse Causes Shipyard Problems

PM1702142392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 12 Feb 92 First Edition p 2

[ITAR-TASS report under the "Chronicle" rubric:
"Nikolayev"]

[Text] Ukraine's biggest dockyard—the Black Sea Shipyard—is in a complex situation following the Union's disintegration. Its collective has been left to cope on its own with the uncompleted aircraft-carrying cruiser Varyag and other defense orders. The problem of conversion is also complicated by the fact that the stocks in which commercial ships could have been built are occupied.

Turkmenistan**Opposition Kept From Contacting Baker Party**

MK2002083092 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 8, 23 Feb 92 p 9

[Mamed Niyaz Sakhatov article: "Turkmenistan: Baker's Visit—Arrest Opposition!"]

[Text] Who could have imagined that the visit to Ashkhabad by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker would result in more human rights violations in Turkmenistan.

A few days before the U.S. secretary of state's visit district inspectors began intensive raids on the homes of "destructive forces," independent journalists, and those who might simply criticize the government.

Writer Ak-Mukhamed Velsapar, who spoke out in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in April 1990 regarding the high child mortality in the republic, was cut off from the outside world in his apartment; Candidate of Historical Sciences Shokhrat Kadyrov was "advised" to stay at home and three militia personnel were attached to him to make sure; Nurberdy Nurmamedov, leader of the "Agzybirlik" movement, was the "guest" of the chief of Sovetskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department from morning to evening; Durdymurad Khodzha-Mukhamad, cochairman of the unregistered Democratic party of Turkmenistan, and other members of this party were also forced to spend a few hours each talking to the militia. Mukhamedmurad Salamatov, editor of Turkmenistan's first independent journal, DAYANCH, was also unable to avoid conversations in militia offices. In short, neither militia personnel nor oppositionists themselves were bored while waiting for the eminent guest.

Despite all the efforts made by Sedar Charyyarov, minister of internal affairs, the writer Khudayberdy Khallyev and other dissenters still succeeded in talking to members of Baker's team and foreign correspondents.

What did the authorities want to hide from Baker?

There is now a great deal of talk about the Turkmen phenomenon. Turkmenistan is one of the so-called areas without conflicts. And there are few areas like that left in the former USSR. All the republic's mass media are totally under the monopoly of the ruling party. The republic's inhabitants only know about many events in Turkmenistan from "hostile radio voices" that include not only those in the West, but also Russian radio and television voices.

President Niyazov is fighting to create a multiparty democracy based on the former communist party. According to Niyazov, communist veterans may create a Communist Party. Secretaries of rural raykoms [rayon party committees] and agricultural obkom [oblast party committee] secretaries based on obkom and central committee agricultural departments may set up their

own peasant party. Those communists who do not fall into these two categories may join a democratic party led by Niyazov himself.

The supporters of a multiparty democracy are being persecuted: They are fined various sums by rayon courts and pressured by the authorities. For instance, poet and playwright Shirali Murmuradov is serving time in a colony for swindling, but, effectively for his epigrams about Niyazov.

The Presidential Council effectively exercises legislative and executive authority. The president himself appoints the judges, from rayon judges upward.

In economic policy Niyazov hews to "socialist" priorities. At the prompting of the kolkhoz and raykom party nomenklatura the rumor is being intensively circulated that there will be carnage with the sharing out of water if privatization of land and water begins. As in all the Central Asian republics the party agrarian mafia in Turkmenistan rests on the setup "peasant- teamleader-kolkhoz chairman-raykom secretary-obkom secretary" and so on. The distribution of land would mean losing the main link—the peasant.

In short, the current state of Turkmen society is very reminiscent of Soviet society in the seventies. Nevertheless the authorities would very much like to appear the bastion of democracy in Western eyes. That is why they are shielding the eminent guests from contact with those people who might tell the truth about the republic.

Unprofitable Companies To Be Denationalized

OW2002131992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1105 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [19 February] the Turkmen parliament passed a law on denationalization and privatization. The deputy chairman of the state planning committee Muhamed Abalakov told parliament that unprofitable companies—there are some 170 of them—will be denationalized in the first place.

Under the law denationalized property can be purchased by legal persons and individuals from Turkmenistan and other countries.

To prevent excessive concentration of capital and monopoly in production ceilings will be put on purchases of shares and property.

The program will be supervised by the state committee for government property.

President Niyazov Proposes Draft Constitution

OW1902180992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov proposed a draft for a new Turkmen constitution to the parliament session opened today.

In accordance with the draft, the political system in Turkmenistan is to comprise a president, a majlis (parliament), a constitutional court, a supreme court, a supreme economic court, and a government. There is also going to be a new power body, called Halk Maslahaty (People's Supreme Council) and consisting of the president, majlis deputies, chairpersons of the constitutional, supreme and supreme economic courts, the prosecutor-general, members of government, heads of local

government, and representatives from various political parties, public, artists' and scientists' organizations and members of the clergy. Membership of the Halk Maslahaty will not be a paid job.

The president will be the head of both state and government, and will be elected for a term of five years. Any citizen of the republic who is of Turkmen descent and is no younger than 40 can stand for president.

The parliament will be Turkmenistan's legislative body and will be elected for a term of five years.

Armenia

Nagorno-Karabakh Said 'International Problem'

LD2102105592 Moscow TASS International
Service in Russian 1531 GMT 19 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Feb (TASS)—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan believes that today, with Armenia and Azerbaijan having achieved independence and with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, "which had previously been seen as the internal affair of the USSR, has automatically become an international one".

Speaking on television on 18 February, L. Ter-Petrosyan pointed to the safeguarding of the security of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh and the creation of a reliable security system in this region, guaranteed at the international level, as the way toward a solution of the problem. After that, the president said, direct talks should be held between representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan, during which the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh region should be clarified.

If this path proves unsuccessful, L. Ter-Petrosyan went on, "more active international involvement" will be necessary. In his view, the creation of interstate peace-keeping CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] forces could be the most effective mechanism for ensuring security in the region. The president recalled that the proposal put forward by the Russian Federation was supported by some republics of the CIS but rejected by others. He said that sooner or later the Commonwealth will be forced to create such forces to be used in various crisis regions of the CIS. Otherwise, L. Ter-Petrosyan pointed out, the Commonwealth has to recognize its inability to settle such questions and to turn to the international community so that UN peace-keeping forces can be deployed in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Armenian President conceded that the Azerbaijani side may not agree with such a variant and would reject international interference. In that case, he said, the world community will have to recognize the independence of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic, in this way placing it under the protection of international law.

L. Ter-Petrosyan reacted to the accusation of certain Armenian political forces that the republic as a state is not rendering assistance to Nagorno-Karabakh. Unfortunately, the president noted, there are things which cannot be brought out into the open, but aid to Nagorno-Karabakh has been mentioned more than once at closed sessions of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

Border With Azerbaijan 'Relatively Calm'

NC1902224392 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] Yerevan, 19 February (ARMENPRES)—The situation is relatively calm in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon. An exchange of fire took place in various localities over the last two or three days.

Aygepar village in Tavushskiy Rayon was fired upon. There are no casualties; only a few buildings were destroyed. The sides are negotiating to stabilize the situation.

The Azerbaijanis used large-caliber artillery to fire on Davit-Pek village in Kapanskiy Rayon. A female resident of the village was injured. The shelling continued the next day as well. It ceased when fire was returned.

President Advocates Open-Door Foreign Policy

LD2102104192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya
Ostankino Television First Program Network in
Russian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] These have been very difficult days for ordinary residents of the republic: inflation; a grave energy crisis; a blockade; shortage of light, heating, and simply basic amenities. At the same time, over this period Armenia has been recognized by 80 countries, including 20 which have decided to establish diplomatic relations with it. Only two weeks ago the first diplomatic mission opened in Yerevan. It is not a coincidence that it was a United States mission.

So, how can these 100 days of presidency in Armenia be described?

[Begin recording Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan] I should resolutely opt for an open-door policy. There should be no doubts or hesitations here. There can be errors. But all those countries which today have achieved certain economic success—I am not speaking about highly developed countries, I mean Egypt, Turkey, South Korea—they have achieved this breakthrough precisely because they decisively opted for an open-door policy. We must do the same.

For us, the Nagorno-Karabakh problem is a problem of people's self-determination. This principle, the principle of self-determination of the peoples, has an absolute value for me. One should not apply this principle to some peoples while denying it to others. [end recording]

Lebanon Said Most Likely Middle East Partner

OW1902130192 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1205 GMT 19 Feb 92

[By diplomatic correspondents M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; from "Diplomatic Panorama"; following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "I am confident that the likeliest partner for Armenia in the Middle East is Lebanon", Seiran Bagdasaryan, chairman of a standing commission of Armenia's parliament, told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama's] correspondent. He visited Lebanon at the invitation of the local Armenian community.

The Lebanese Government, said Bagdasaryan, is interested in developing comprehensive contacts with Armenia. During his talks in Beirut an agreement was reached to resume in May-June air flights between Beirut and Yerevan (in the wake of the 1984 escalation of tensions in Lebanon these air flights were suspended).

According to Bagdasaryan, there are good prospects for setting up small-size joint ventures for the production of foods, garments and household electronics.

It is not ruled out that in a couple of months diplomatic relations will be established between Armenia and Lebanon. The proposal that Lebanese Government officials should be invited to visit Armenia has been submitted to the presidium of Armenia's parliament.

Prime Minister, Thai Ambassador Discuss Trade

NC1602153392 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Vice President and Prime Minister Gagik Arutyunyan received on 13 February Thailand's Ambassador to Russia Kasit Phirom and his entourage who are in Yerevan on an official visit. He briefed the guests on various aspects of life in Armenia.

In dwelling on Thailand's economic characteristics, Phirom noted that Thailand trades in such competitive fields as textiles, manufacturing, processed foodstuffs, electronics, and jewelry. It needs raw materials and semi-manufactured goods.

The sides discussed fields of mutual interest such as trade, joint economic activity, credits, and transit trade. They agreed to hold talks on consolidating ties and placing them on a practical level.

The same day State Minister Grigor Areshyan received Thailand's ambassador and those accompanying him.

Diplomatic Ties Established With North Korea

LD1602080492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Armenia have established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level, and have agreed to exchange diplomatic representations. Armenia is the 14th republic of the former USSR with which the DPRK has established diplomatic relations. The Republic of Georgia is the only one with which the DPRK does not have diplomatic relations.

Self-Determination Groups Rally in Yerevan

LD2002055792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] A rally organized by radical associations for national self-determination took place at Independence Square in Yerevan on 18 February. EKSPRES-KHRONIKA news agency reports that around 30,000 were present at the rally. Those assembled demanded immediate elections to the constituent assembly, the recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh's independence, and the creation of an Armenian national army.

Gas Supplies Cut Off From Azerbaijan

NC1902144092 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Feb (ARMENPRES)—During the last two weeks the supply of gas from Georgia to Armenia has gone up by an average of 1 million cubic meters reaching almost 4.5 million cubic meters a day. The supply has not reached 5 million cubic meters despite Georgia's promise that it would.

The republic can only consider reactivating the industrial sector if the amount of gas entering Armenia tops the 5 million mark. For now the amount received just barely meets the household needs of the population and enables the below-capacity operation of a score of enterprises that produce vital goods.

Azerbaijanis cut off the Kazakh gas pipeline two weeks ago and now they have cut off the Lachin gas pipeline, which until recently was carrying 150,000 to 160,000 cubic meters of gas to Stepanakert and Goris.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov Addresses People on Nagorno-Karabakh

OW2102104092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Azerbaijan Ayaz Mutalibov stated his desire to untie the Nagorno-Karabakh knot and stressed that this goal presented "important political steps". In his address to the people he said that he will not lose hope and will do everything to stop the bloodshed. The President said that the conflict in the region is the main cause of the destabilization of the situation in Azerbaijan.

Mutalibov called on all representatives of different currents, movements, parties, and opposition forces without exception to join forces in these critical days to overcome the difficulties. "If we don't provide stability in the republic we can make no progress on the road to democracy we have chosen", the president said, "in that case we stand the threat of intensified confrontations".

The People's Front of Azerbaijan demanded the resignation of Mutalibov and the government. It offered sharp criticism in connection with the course of military actions in Nagorno-Karabakh which were detrimental to Azerbaijan.

Appeals for Unity

LD2102095592 Moscow TASS in English
0809 GMT 21 Feb 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Natan Barskiy—TASS]

[Text] Baku February 21 TASS—Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Mutalibov today called on the nation to unite and defend its state and territorial integrity.

"We have been put before a choice: Either we will unite, gathering all forces in one fist to defend freedom and independence of native Azerbaijan, or, engulfed in disputes and mutual accusations, panic and despair, will lose all we have gained," Mutalibov said in a statement, published in newspapers today.

"The heart of every person, who loves Azerbaijan, aches when civilians get killed in Nagorno-Karabakh and villages are being destroyed," Mutalibov said.

"In this situation, those, who play with the nation's fate, trying to attain their pecuniary aims, come what may, resorting to ultimatums, cannot be justified," he said.

"Unless we ensure stability in the republic, we will not be able to move further along the road of democratic transformations, we have planned for the nearest future. Otherwise, we are threatened with increasing confrontation," he said.

Military Planned for Defense Against Armenia

LD2002134992 Moscow TASS in English
1308 GMT 20 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Sidorov]

[Text] London February 20 TASS—Azerbaijan intends to create its own armed forces after units of the former Soviet Army withdraw, Republican Foreign Minister Guseinaga Musa Ogly Sadykhov told a correspondent of the authoritative JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY in Baku.

"We have available a Ministry of Defence but have no army," the minister emphasised.

It follows from the interview that Azerbaijan needs an army for defensive purposes, "to defend itself against the Armenians". Over the past two years Armenia "had secretly formed a 75,000-strong army", the minister said.

Parliament Building Damaged in Stepanakert

LD2002183792 Moscow Russian Television
Network in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The war, which we modestly call an interethnic conflict, is going from bad to worse. Today Stepanakert was once more subjected to bombardment from Grad rocket systems from the direction of Shusha. More than 350 shells and rockets were launched at the town, 218 of which were of HE-fragmentation type. Several dozen buildings were destroyed. Damage was also done to the Supreme Soviet and television buildings, which were partly destroyed.

Seventeen people died as a result of the shelling, with 34 wounded. Now the central part of the town is already under bombardment. Military helicopters are being employed. Today artillery shelled the villages of (Khandurets, Kunetsorg), and several others from Kubatlinskiy rayon.

Combat Helicopters Used in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2002131292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya
Ostankino Television First Program Network in
Russian 1200 GMT 20 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The latest events in Nagorno-Karabakh indicate that the war is becoming increasingly serious in scale. Combat helicopters already are going into action and so-called needle shells [igolchatyye snaryady] are being used. Experts do not exclude the use of Grad installations, which is forbidden under international conventions. Yesterday, a state of emergency was introduced in Shushinskiy and Agdamkiy Rayons.

Nagorno-Karabakh Official on Talks Prospects

PM2002124092 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 19 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Artur Mkrtchyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Supreme Soviet, by Arsen Melik-Shakhnazarov, Moscow correspondent of the newspaper KHORURDAIN KARABAKH-SOVETSKIY KARABAKH under the rubric "Hot Spot"; place, date of interview not given: "Talks About Nagorno-Karabakh Without Nagorno-Karabakh's Participation Unproductive"]

[Text] Artur Mkrtchyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Supreme Soviet, spoke about this in an interview given specially to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

[Melik-Shakhnazarov] Could you briefly outline the present situation in Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Mkrtychyan] There is a real war going on here. Azerbaijani troop formations, using the Army's heavy armored equipment and artillery which has been handed over to them, have completely besieged Nagorno-Karabakh and are regularly subjecting the city of Stepanakert, capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, and population centers on the border to concentrated bombardment. As a result civilians, old men, women, and children are killed and wounded every day. Stepanakert's inhabitants are spending their nights in cellars and shelters. Azerbaijani Army subunits are concentrated in a number of population centers in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and are blockading the republic's internal communications, paralyzing its economic activities. In many regions there are no communications or electricity, and food and medicines are in short supply. Industry is paralyzed. The prominent Russian journalist Andrey Nuykin described the combat operations that have flared up as the "beginning of the onslaught of fascism." I agree with him.

[Melik-Shakhnazarov] The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's new parliament is having to work virtually in wartime conditions. What are its first steps at such a complex period in Nagorno-Karabakh's history?

[Mkrtychyan] In spite of the state of war, the Supreme Soviet's first action was to form democratic structures for people's power in our state. But questions of ensuring at least a minimum level of supply to the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh in a situation where people are trying to stifle the region with a blockade, starvation, and cold, concern the newly elected deputies most of all. For this very reason, one of the first laws which the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic parliament approved was the Law on the State of Emergency. However, I want to point out: The corresponding law of the former USSR, adopted in connection with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh was aimed at suppressing the people's democratic movement and destroying Nagorno-Karabakh's economic potential to fit in with the interests of the Azerbaijani leadership. The law which we have adopted will act, on the contrary, to the population's advantage, because it is designed to concentrate all existing resources in order to break out of this most grave situation which exists at the moment.

[Melik-Shakhnazarov] It is said that a bad peace is better than a good war. What is your attitude to the idea of talks with Azerbaijan? On what basis would they, in your opinion, be productive?

[Mkrtychyan] We never were against talks, but it looks like they do not suit Azerbaijan's leaders. You should recall that it was in July 1991 at precisely the time when talks began in Baku between Mutalibov and representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh, after Gorbachev's decree on lifting the state of emergency in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, that a mass deportation of the rayon's Armenian villages began, accompanied by murders, robberies, and violence. In exactly the same way, immediately after the Zheleznovodsk communique was signed in September, the first bombardments of Stepanakert started and the mass attacks on Armenian villages intensified.

It is difficult to talk about negotiations today—the Azerbaijani leadership is waging an open war against our people. However, we have always spoken in favor of a political dialogue and consider that this is possible if a series of conditions is fulfilled. The talks would become a reality if the Azerbaijani side had a cease-fire in the region, withdrew its armed units from Nagorno-Karabakh, and lifted the blockade of the region. By so doing the Azerbaijani leadership would recognize the Artsakh people's right to live on their own land. The Azerbaijani side's present actions show that we are being refused such a right.

[Melik-Shakhnazarov] Why, in your view, did the peace mission by Presidents Yeltsin and Nazarbayev and the subsequent Zheleznovodsk agreements not in the final account influence the situation in the region?

[Mkrtychyan] I have already said that the Azerbaijani leadership had in effect already torpedoed these agreements from the outset. There was, in my opinion, one other major mistake. From the very beginning of the Zheleznovodsk process, Nagorno-Karabakh was to all intents and purposes dropped from the list of participants in the talks. But you see we always emphasized that the events in the region are a matter not so much for Armenia and Azerbaijan as for Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan. And today any talks in the region without the direct participation of Nagorno-Karabakh cannot be serious. The formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic is an expression of the legal will of the people of Artsakh, taking into account all the democratic procedures. The existence of an independent Nagorno-Karabakh Republic is already a fait accompli. The Azerbaijani leadership in essence also recognizes this de facto. Otherwise why should it wage a real war against a territory which it declares to be its own, but on which other organs of power are operating and other laws are in force? Surely you do not talk the language of artillery bombardments and salvoes from "Grad" guns with those you consider to be your "subjects"? Talks today between Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan should not be conducted as between vassal and khan, but solely on equal terms. Only then can they be productive.

[Melik-Shakhnazarov] How does the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic parliament intend to guarantee the rights of national minorities living in Artsakh? Are attempts being made to come out and have direct talks with representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh's Azerbaijani community?

[Mkrtychyan] We understand that the observance of human rights is the basis of the civilized society which we wish to create in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. And we are taking practical steps in this direction. For example, the freedom to use other languages alongside Armenian has already been secured. Incidentally, people in Artsakh know Russian well and a portion of our citizens—refugees from Baku and other Azerbaijani cities—are completely Russian speaking. But as far as talks with the Azerbaijani community are concerned, the

complex aspect of the question is that practically all Azerbaijani population centers have been turned into bridgeheads for the armed forces according to the wishes of the Azerbaijani leaders. Therefore prospects for such talks have been in fact reduced to zero. I think that were there no pressure from Baku, the representatives of the Azerbaijani community of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic would more willingly forge contacts with the Armenian side. It is time to realize: The war being waged against the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic is causing as much suffering to local Azerbaijanis as to the Armenians, Russians, and representatives of other ethnic groups.

[Melik-Shakhnazarov] Hundreds of thousands of emigres from Nagorno-Karabakh are living in the Commonwealth states. Is the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's new leadership establishing a link with the Nagorno-Karabakh diaspora?

[Mkrtychyan] Such work has and will be carried out, but in the present situation we do not yet have time for this. Today we are in need of the help of all Nagorno-Karabakh's people to save the homeland.

Armenian Soldiers Face Assault Trials

LD1802183292 Moscow TASS in English
1032 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev]

[Text] Baku February 18 TASS—A big group of Armenian servicemen from two army units deployed in the city of Khankendi (Stepanakert) has been charged with involvement in armed assaults launched by Armenian militants against Azeri residential areas, using combat equipment and weapons, according to the press centre of the Azerbaijan Prosecutor's Office.

The Nagorno-Karabakh inter-district prosecutor's office of the Republic of Azerbaijan has instituted criminal proceedings on charges of abuse of power.

The investigation has disclosed that Armenian servicemen were also involved in thefts of weapons and other military equipment.

U.S., Turkey, Germany Could Bring 'Peace'

NC1702130492 Ankara TURKISH DAILY NEWS
in English 12 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by Lale Sariibrahimoglu from Baku]

[Text] Ebulfaz Elcibey [Ebulfaz Aliyev], leader of the People's Front, Azerbaijan's strong movement in opposition, voiced his belief that Turkey, the United States and Germany would be effective in bringing peace to the Caucasus and in solving the Azerbaijani-Armenian dispute on Azerbaijan's disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region.

Elcibey's People's Front movement enjoys a majority support in the country and opposes the current leadership of President Ayaz Mutalibov whom it accuses of being pro-Moscow. Elcibey was speaking to a group of Turkish journalists visiting Baku, the capital of the Turkish speaking Muslim republic of Azerbaijan in the former Soviet Union.

Claiming that a united Azerbaijan would finally become a reality, Elcibey said it would not happen, however, for another five or six years.

There are an estimated 17 million Iranian Azerbaijanis living in the part of Azerbaijan which is still considered Iran. Elcibey said five separate states made up of Baluchis, Turks, Arabs, Kurds and Persians would emerge. The whole of Azerbaijan would be united, giving birth to a strong 40 million Azerbaijani Turkish state.

He also stressed the necessity for new elections in the country to be held by the end of the year to pave the way for a "fully" independent Azerbaijan.

Though a considerable number of Moscow's KGB agents had withdrawn from Azerbaijan, they were still active in the country, said Elcibey, accusing the current government of being a continuation of the communist party.

Stressing Azerbaijan's strategic importance extending up to the Caspian sea and its still unexplored oil reserves, Elcibey said: "30 percent of Moscow's KGB is still active in the country.

"The last area where the Russians will withdraw from in Azerbaijan is Nagorno-Karabakh.

Russia is the provocateur in Nagorno-Karabakh. It will continue to be a problem spot for another five to six months until Russia stops interfering. I feel that Turkey, America and Germany would be influential in bringing peace to the Caucasus and in solving the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. The Turks will most probably support the Azerbaijani Turks and the Americans will no doubt support the Armenians because of the strong Armenian lobby. In such a situation Germany could provide an element of balance."

According to Elcibey, the Commonwealth of Independent States established on the ruins of the Soviet Union would not last more than six months.

Two months since its establishment have now passed and only four months was left for it to live, said the People's Front leader, adding that neither Europe nor the United States would have wanted 50 million people migrating to their countries. So they encouraged the establishment of the CIS, but fully independent states would finally emerge.

Elcibey urged Turkey to help the Azerbaijanis in the field of national education but to stay out of their fight for freedom. "On the matter of Azerbaijan's freedom, I do not expect anything either from Turkey or from any country.

"No one can give us our freedom, we should take it by ourselves so that we value it and keep it; otherwise it would not be freedom."

Voicing his belief that relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan would be further strengthened and increased once his country gained full independence, Elcibey said: "Once we gain our independence, Turkey and Azerbaijan will have very close ties.

"This is very natural because there exists among us unity of language, civilization and a Turkish identity," Elcibey said that in Azerbaijan the education system established by the Soviets was still dominant.

"Turkey should help us immediately in the field of education, because it is the second biggest issue for us after freedom. Ataturk's greatness comes from his major move to establish a national education system."

Azerbaijan's People's Front leader has also ruled out any danger to his country from fundamentalism as in Iran. He said the middle class Azerbaijani intellectual's sensibility would be against it.

What was happening in Iran had nothing to do with religion but a movement of religious order converted into a state policy, Elcibey added.

GRU Said To Plot Mutalibov Assassination

PM1402115592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 1

[O. Tekhmemev report: "Main Intelligence Directorate Keeps Calm"]

[Text] A Russian Information Agency report on an attempt to assassinate Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov plotted by the Soviet Army Main Intelligence Directorate [GRU] produced something of a furor in the media and the Defense Ministry.

However, the president's press secretary, Rasim Agayev, told KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA'S editorial team that Ayaz Mutalibov said nothing about the alleged plot to assassinate him during the recent session of the republic's National Soviet, at which opposition parties were present. But, according to Rasim Guseynovich, who was at the meeting, in his speech—which was mainly devoted to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem—Mutalibov did in fact broach the subject of the GRU's presence on the territory of sovereign Azerbaijan.

In the president's view, to all intents and purposes a foreign state's military intelligence is operating in the republic. Apart from anything else, during an investigation by an Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet parliamentary commission into the circumstances surrounding the Baku tragedy of 19-22 January 1990, facts emerged about the GRU's highly improper activity on those days. For example, according to the president, military intelligence assault groups participated directly in the seizure and blowing up of the republic's television center, and

GRU snipers fired on the civilian population from the Salyanskaya Barracks. On several occasions Ayaz Mutalibov confronted the former Union Defense Ministry leadership with the question of withdrawing GRU subdivisions from Azerbaijan territory, but to no avail. In the president's words, the news of an attempt on his life was a provocation organized by the GRU.

At the same time, there are people claiming that strategic GRU activity in Azerbaijan continues to this day. Thus, Etibar Mamedov, chairman of the Party of National Independence, announced that he had proof of preparations by military intelligence of terrorist acts against leaders of the Azerbaijan National Front, republic parliament deputies, and of course the president.

But the "aquarium" (as V. Suvorov, a former military intelligence officer, named his "bureau") is staying cool, preferring not to comment on this report. But if the truth be known, they are worried—they are looking for answers. Yesterday, the "Vesti" program received a call from the GRU asking it to announce the sources of its information.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Blames Ouster on Independence Push

MK2102093092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 21 Feb 92 pp 1, 3

["Abridged version" of interview with ousted President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia by Vitaliy Anisimov, Anzhelika Vasilyeva, and Margreyet Streyboskh from INFO-VZGLYAD, Moscow; date and place not given; under "Urbi et Orbi" rubric: "If I Die, It Will Be With My People" Zviad Gamsakhurdia Meets Journalists at Last"]

[Text] [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] How do you feel after such a difficult time?

[Gamsakhurdia] I feel good. I feel physically good, but spiritually very depressed. I am depressed by everything that has happened and I feel particularly for those who have been killed. A very large number of my friends, people close to me, Georgians, people with a great sense of patriotism toward their homeland and their cause have been killed. This puts a tremendous burden on me, and I do not know whether or not I will recover from it...

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] How many people have been killed?

[Gamsakhurdia] A very large number—hundreds. Hundreds. What is more, they were my close friends: courageous, noble people. Very many people, very many...

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] How would you describe what has happened over the last few months?

[Gamsakhurdia] Well, there have been acts of barbarity, of vandalism, and atrocities! Imagine the worst that has

ever happened throughout history. Things that you know about, that you have read or seen in movies, those dreadful acts of barbarity and the human atrocities—all that you need to multiply to a power of two or three. Then you will get a picture of everything that happened in Tbilisi's Government House and during the destruction of the house, the bombing, and the war. This is the most terrible thing that has ever happened.

There has been an invasion of barbarians, criminals, drug addicts, brutes who do not know what they were doing (I am sure) because most of them were under the influence of drugs. They were like cannon fodder. Many of them perished too, many died. But despite that they kept on coming... Finally I had to leave the house because things would have degenerated into even more terrible bloodshed throughout the city. You see? So, I left the building and left Tbilisi with my people.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] How do you intend to continue your struggle?

[Gamsakhurdia] I intend to carry on speaking, exposing things, attracting world public attention, and exposing everything that happened, the background to it, who directed it, and why.

I aim to expose all this and tell the whole world the truth about it—the whole world—and open all good people's eyes. I will not say that I will return now and fight—that is, first, physically impossible. But struggle—civil disobedience, strikes, and protests—all that is the most effective thing that can get a result. The people are already taking that path. Because it is very hard to fight such brutes, fight them physically—they are still shedding a great deal of blood today.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] You spoke about "exposing" things and your desire to "tell the truth." What truth were you referring to?

[Gamsakhurdia] Well, how they present themselves, what they are doing, why they are doing it, and who is directing them—that is what I am exposing. I wrote a letter to President Yeltsin, for instance. Did you read it?—it was in GOLOS CHECHENO-INGUSHETII. I showed outright that this stems straight from Russia with the help of Soviet troops. It is clearly instigated there. That is very important to know. This is all because Georgia wanted independence. So Georgia has been punished, I have been punished, and my government has been punished—we have all been punished for wanting independence.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] So, you associate the start of the putsch directly with your not signing...

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course!

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] ...the treaty...

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course!...

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] ...on the formation...

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course!...

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] ...of the Commonwealth of Independent States?

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course! I was invited to Alma-Ata 21 [December] and I did not go. First, I did not go because it was physically impossible even if I had wanted to go—people there set that up for me. The bombings began 22 [December]—the first shooting was 22 [December]. Let me remind you: Alma-Ata was held 21 and our building and the parliament were bombed 22. There is a direct connection between the two.

In the letter to Yeltsin I came right out with something that everyone knew already—this gang of mercenaries did not hide the fact: "The Transcaucasus Military District is supplying us with weapons and armored hardware, and Yeltsin is giving us everything that we want." That is what they said. Because they were Yeltsin's troops. "Yeltsin gives us everything we want"—there you have it.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] What do you think about Shevardnadze's reaction, and what role do you ascribe to him in these events?

[Gamsakhurdia] Well, Shevardnadze is the leader of this carnage, this bloody escapade. He is the one who led, organized, and directed everything. It was Shevardnadze's hand that did all this—as regards both funding and direct orders. You might say that this is Shevardnadze's act in Georgia. This bloody act is that of Shevardnadze in Georgia and of his "kredi" [meaning unknown], his stooges.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Do you have any proof?

[Gamsakhurdia] What more proof do you need...—he does not hide it at all: He welcomes this, takes delight in it, and says that "the democratic forces have come." There you are. In general he has said that "this is the intelligentsia." What intelligentsia? It was a gang, a criminal gang of criminals who were released from jail—all of them! The young ones were all released—bandits, thieves, the lot!—to be enlisted in this army. Were they really "democratic forces"?

Shevardnadze praised and eulogized this and said that... He was asked the following question in an interview: "Is it true that you were in charge?" "I would be happy," he said, for people to believe that. He was really delighted—can you understand that? He was delighted at everything that happened. Delighted. What more proof do you need? Every day in newspapers and interviews he made outright appeals for this to happen. He called it the "victory of democratic forces" because I was "a dictator, a tyrant." What innocent people did I arrest? Was anyone executed? Was anyone tortured? There is no proof!

I arrested this gang—"Mkhedrioni"—who robbed people and engaged in racketeering. See? That is the extent of my "dictatorship."

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Looking back over this, do you think that you have made any mistakes that you would now...

[Gamsakhurdia] When you are sitting there, how can you not make a mistake? When everyone is corrupt, everyone takes bribes, everyone is a traitor, everyone is a former KGB or Cheka officer!—how can you not make a mistake? Of course, I made a lot of mistakes. But this was not due to wickedness or ill will. I made them involuntarily. Particularly as far as cadres are concerned—there were no cadres. What was I to do?—I appointed cadres who angered the people. They angered me, too. What was I to do?—there was no one! This was the comparison I made: Your finger has festered and has to be cut off: What do you do? Suppose you do cut it off. Another one will not grow in its place. That was what happened: I removed one man, and there was no one there. There was no one there, the place was deserted. That is why I cited these examples.

Cadres were annihilated over those 70 years. Utterly annihilated. So I arrived in a wasteland, you see? I was alone, with my bare hands—I had no militia, no KGB, no one; everyone was a traitor, everyone was a bribe-taker. What do you do in that kind of society, in that kind of state?

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Have you and the Georgian Provisional Government held any talks of late?

[Gamsakhurdia] No, no!

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] During the storming of Government House did you have any contacts with the Russian Government, with Yeltsin in particular?

[Gamsakhurdia] No, it was impossible—all communications were cut. Absolutely all telephone communications were cut. Do you understand? They aimed to ruin my relations with Yeltsin. And they succeeded. Until the fall I had splendid relations with him; I visited his home and we would have a drink together—you must not hide all this (laughs). Then they started to do their work: They reported: "He is criticizing you, he calls you this, he said that." Well, he is just (laughs again) an ordinary man, and he believed it. You understand? He is an artless guy and he believed it. Because the man totally changed toward me, when he had worshipped me—we spoke very often on the telephone and had all manner of contacts. See? But they managed to change that. That is Shevardnadze's profession—he can weave together any intrigue. He organized these intrigues in Moscow and set the parliament against me. The parliament was told that "Gamsakhurdia said this about the parliament, about deputies, about these people," that "he is an enemy," that "we have lost the Caucasus thanks to Gamsakhurdia." The No. 1 enemy, Hitler, was nothing compared to me.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] We would like to know your reaction to all the recent accusations. I simply list a

few of them—that you took money out, that you had some animals from the Tbilisi zoo in your residence...

[Gamsakhurdia] Only a madman, a psychiatric patient could invent these things. Sigua said that I had a zoo and supposedly some... That is utter fabrication—there is nothing to bear this out. It is just to discredit me.

As for the money—that is absolutely... these are people who can invent anything. Can you see that? They can invent anything they see fit. Incidentally, when I was in Armenia we occupied several rooms there—between all of us who went there. Their gang came from Georgia, a few people. They told the Armenian authorities: Gamsakhurdia has stolen 700 million rubles and dollars, and you must now take us to him and check out all his suitcases and closets; we must look at everything with the Armenian authorities. The Armenians told them that a huge trailer would be needed to carry 700 million rubles—even a KamAZ [truck] would not be enough. A trailer could carry that much, but they said that Gamsakhurdia did not have a trailer, just a few cars, and all these vehicles had been checked over by the militia.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] It was also reported that you might be able to go to France on a visitor's visa. How true is that?

[Gamsakhurdia] I have no intention of going anywhere. Because I do not want to leave my home in trouble. If I die, it will be with my people. That is my principle.

Sigua Says Gamsakhurdia Underground Active

OW2102111992 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1900 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As usual, the political situation in Georgia can't be called stable, and in a number of regions in the west of the Republic the situation remains tense, the leader of the Republic's temporary government Tengiz Sigua reported in a press conference in Tbilisi Thursday [20 February]. According to Sigua, reports from the western Georgia city of Senaka say that supporters of the ousted Gamsakhurdia demonstrate daily.

Commenting on statements by Gamsakhurdia at a press conference in Grozny February 18 that he is personally directed the public insubordination movements in Georgia, Sigua said "There are signs that the underground is active".

The Premier confirmed the formations of the Georgian Military Council had left the territory of Abkhazia and reported that on February 22 an Abkhasian delegation headed by the chairman of the Republic's parliament Vladislav Ardzinba would arrive in Tbilisi for talks.

Sigua said that the Georgian Government had received a telegram from the Chechen Republic requesting that a delegation be received in Tbilisi.

Journalists were also told that the Russian ambassador to the Netherlands Aleksander Chikvaidze accepted the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia.

Gamsakhurdia Warns of Nuclear Weapons Risk

PM2002150692 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 2

[A. Yevtushenko report: "Gamsakhurdia Comes Out of Hiding. And Disappears Again"]

[Text] "There are nuclear warheads on Georgian territory. And I am afraid that they will go off," Zviad Gamsakhurdia stated at a press conference in Grozny.

According to the official announcement from the Chechen side, Gamsakhurdia flew to Grozny from Georgia on the evening of 19 February. However, there are grounds for suggesting that he has been hiding in the territory of the Chechen Republic in recent times. Thus, a week ago, French TV journalists—my neighbors at the hotel in Grozny—assured me that they had been taken by car, blindfolded, to an exclusive interview with Gamsakhurdia, and it had not taken long to reach the meeting place.

The two presidents conversed for about two hours behind closed doors. We have managed to discover from reliable sources that they discussed the present situation in Georgia and the visit to Tbilisi by U.S. Secretary of State Baker.

In the press conference which followed, held in the parliament hall of sessions, Gamsakhurdia rejected the report that he took gold and hard currency out of Tbilisi, at the same time producing a clearance certificate for his car and his escort vehicles signed by the chief of a Georgian rayon internal affairs department. Testimonies to the use of torture in Government House were also described as fabrications. Of Baker's meeting with Sigua, Gamsakhurdia said: "The secretary of state went there only to make public the statement that, while the legitimate Georgian president is in exile, the United States will not assume the responsibility of recognizing the republic's new government or of recognizing Georgia as a sovereign state." To a question on the attitude of the leadership of the republics of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] to the new authorities, Gamsakhurdia replied that in his opinion "they are considered a junta not just by Dudayev, but also by Ter-Petrosyan and Shushkevich. Others are obviously waiting for Yeltsin to make his position public."

Gamsakhurdia stated that his present position is dictated by security considerations, but he has no intention at all of emigrating: "On the contrary, I intend in the near future to take up my former position, especially as many in Georgia are supporting me by expressing disobedience to the putschists in all manner of ways."

Charges Denied

OW1902155392 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1410 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lt. Gen. Sufiyan Beppayev, deputy commander of the Transcaucasian military district, has described as "an open lie" Zviad Gamsakhurdia's assertion that there are nuclear weapons in Georgia. The general said that "there have never been, and there will never be any such weapons in Georgia."

The deposed Georgian president told a news conference in Grozny, Chechen-Ingush, on Monday [17 February] that missiles tipped with nuclear warheads were stationed on Georgian territory. Gamsakhurdia is staying in the Chechen republic for talks with its leader Dzhokhar Dudayev.

Sigua: U.S. To Establish Ties After Election

OW2002154492 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1415 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the Georgian Temporary Government Tengiz Sigua has stated that USA will establish diplomatic relations with Georgia only after parliamentary elections are held in the republic. Sigua said U.S. Secretary of State James Baker made it clear to him during his recent visit to Moscow. However, speaking on republican TV, Sigua pointed out that this does not mean that the USA does not recognize Georgia's sovereignty and independence.

The premier said that under an agreement with Baker the USA will provide humanitarian aid to Tbilisi within a month.

NDP Leader Says Monarchy To 'Unite' Nation

AU2102083192 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA
in Georgian 11 Feb 92 p 3

[Statement issued by Giorgi Chanturia, leader of the National Democratic Party, and his wife Irina Sarishvili, main committee member of the National Democratic Party; place and date not given: "We Do Not Understand Why Batoni Jorge Bagrationi Believes That it is Premature To Come to Georgia"]

[Text] The statement made by Jorge (Giorgi) Bagrationi [heir to the Georgian throne] that we informed you about on 31 January has aroused great surprise and bewilderment in Georgian political circles.

We state most categorically that, in spite of the wish to restore a constitutional monarchy in Georgia, the aim of the visit to Spain by Teimuraz Zhorzholiani [chairman of the Monarchist (Conservative) Party] and ourselves was not to propose that Irakli Bagrationi [eldest son of

Jorge Bagrationi] ascend the Georgian throne. We would like Irakli Bagrationi and other representatives of the Bagrationi family to come to Georgia to get accustomed to conditions in the country, learn the language, and be given the opportunity to be reminded of Georgian customs and traditions so that, following a possible victory in a national referendum on the idea of a constitutional monarchy in the near future, the future ascendant to the Georgian throne will be worthy and fully ready to represent the Georgian nation. We state here that:

1. The Bagrationis, no matter in which country they reside, are never to be viewed in Georgia as citizens of a foreign country or as guests. We add that there is no law on citizenship as yet in our country, and all individuals living in Georgia have a passport stating that they are citizens of a country—the Soviet Union—that no longer exists. As far as the Bagrationis' citizenship, they were deprived of this not by the Georgian parliament but by the criminal Soviet regime and Jorge Bagrationi should be aware of this.

2. We do not have a parliament in Georgia that has been elected according to the rules of democracy and, naturally, it cannot invite the Bagrationis. A large part of the old parliament has been compromised in the eyes of the Georgian people because of its collaboration and close contacts with the Soviet authorities while others cooperated with Gamsakhurdia's dictatorial regime. However, new parliamentary elections are planned in just a few months.

3. It is incomprehensible to us why Jorge Bagrationi believes that it is premature to come to Georgia. The argument that stabilization has not yet been achieved in Georgia strengthens still further the position of those politicians who support the immediate return of the representatives of the celebrated Bagrationi family, as their authority can unite the Georgian nation and establish peace. We sincerely believe that the representative of this name should be the face of an independent, democratic, and elevated Georgia.

Finally, we hope that all the representatives of the Bagrationi family do not share the view of Jorge Bagrationi.

[Signed] Giorgi Chanturia,

Irina Sarishvili.

In addition to this statement, Giorgi Chanturia gave an interview to the Madrid newspaper EL PAIS in which he called Giorgi Bagrationi's statement immoral and amoral.

In a news conference held on 2 February in Madrid, Giorgi's sister, Kalbatoni Mariam Bagrationi, stated that she fully agrees with Giorgi Chanturia's assessment regarding her brother. She pointed out that the Bagrationis were looking forward to the visit of Giorgi Chanturia and Teimuraz Zhorzholiani to Spain and that the reason behind Giorgi Bagrationi's statement was that he himself wishes to ascend to the throne or, failing that, his

son by his second wife. Georgian politicians are now focusing their attention on Giorgi's brother—Bagrati's family—and on Giorgi Bagrationi's eldest son, Irakli, to the dissatisfaction of Giorgi Bagrationi and his second wife.

The press center of the National Democratic Party.

Party Wants Shevardnadze in New Government

OW2002161392 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1415 GMT 20 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Democratic Party of Georgia has stressed the need to set up a new coalition government with participation of the former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

On Thursday [20 February] the party leadership adopted a resolution demanding the restoration of the 1921 Georgian Constitution.

South Ossetia 'Extremists' Blamed for Impasse

MK2002121592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with Irakli Batiashvili, member of the Georgian Political Consultative Council, by Nadar Broladze; date and place not given: "Talks? 'We Are Offering Ossetians Peace and Social Guarantees.' Irakli Batiashvili, member of Political Consultative Council—on Georgian-Ossetian Dialogue"]

[Text] [Broladze] The Georgian Provisional Government has made efforts since it came into existence to settle the conflict in the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. However, attempts to invite Ossetian representatives to the negotiating table have so far not met with success.

[Batiashvili] It is difficult to grasp the reasons for this attitude to our proposal, but we are waiting patiently and hope that talks will begin nonetheless. We have only once succeeded in getting to the negotiating table.

[Broladze] On whose initiative?

[Batiashvili] The initiative came from Mr. Tengiz Sigua, acting prime minister of the Provisional Government. The initial statement made by the Military Council and Government outlined the need for a constructive approach to resolving this problem peacefully. In line with an accord reached by Mr. Sigua and the Ossetian authorities, our five-man delegation was sent to Tskhinvali 25 January vested with the relevant authorities to start a preliminary dialogue. At the gates of Tskhinvali the Georgian group met with two representatives of the Ossetian side who said that they were not empowered to hold talks. The date for starting official talks was only decided there. It remained for our Ossetian partners to make up their minds as to the composition of their

plenipotentiary delegation. However, time passed and no one telephoned Tbilisi. On the other hand reports began to be carried on television far-removed from the real situation, whereby it turns out that the Ossetians' attempt to start talks is being neutralized by Tbilisi's unwillingness to enter into contact. I think that Moscow television journalists were misled by reports from Vladikavkaz or Tskhinval.

[Broladze] What is being done now to revive dialogue?

[Batiashvili] Aleksandr Kavsadze, a representative of our commission and member of the Political Consultative Council, set off for Tskhinval a few days ago to find out the chances of resuming talks. He met with Korchagin, head of the Russian internal troop units stationed there, and suggested that he act as intermediary to promote the talks. However, nothing came of this. Korchagin promised to think about it but has simply failed to respond. I recently asked Lieutenant General Suffiyan Beppayev, deputy commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, for help.

Beppayev said 19 February that the Ossetian plenipotentiary representatives are ready to start talks, provided that they are considered representatives of South Ossetia and not Samachablo or Shida-Kartli.

[Broladze] What do the members of the commission representing the Provisional Government intend to suggest to their colleagues in Tskhinval?

[Batiashvili] The top-priority task is to reach agreement on a cease-fire. The second thing is to make the highways open and secure throughout what was the South Ossetian

Autonomous Oblast. We think that it would be advisable—as far as the objectivity and effectiveness of the talks are concerned—to invite international observers to take part in them.

[Broladze] Why is the Ossetian side still holding back from dialogue?

[Batiashvili] Tskhinval recently forced a political leader—Znaur Gassiyev—to resign after he had contacts with the Georgian Provisional Government on normalizing the situation. We imagine that the section of Ossetian society willing to accommodate peace initiatives is coming under pressure from radical extremists who label as a traitor anyone who ventures to reach a peaceful settlement with the Georgians. Regrettably, we do not know what Torez Kulumbekov is doing and what steps he may take: There is no news of him either.

[Broladze] The situation in Shida-Kartli began to improve in the latter half of January. But following the abortive talks things have become intolerable for the population again...

[Batiashvili] Internal troops are helping to exacerbate the situation in many respects. Their actions are not being controlled in practice. There are video cassettes showing armored personnel carriers bursting into Georgian villages and shelling homes, terrorizing the inhabitants. The Georgian population thinks that, if the troops leave, the Georgians and Ossetians will be able to find a common language themselves. Regrettably, the view prevails in Ossetian extremist circles that the territory of the former autonomous oblast must be torn away from Georgia. However, the Georgian people and their government will not tolerate violations of Georgian territorial integrity. We are offering peace and social guarantees. That is feasible.

Latvia

Russian Trade Protocol Not Signed Yet

LD1602213492 Moscow *POSTFACTUM* in English
2045 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Latvia's Prime Minister: It is bad that the main protocol on the exchange of goods with Russia has not been signed to date although all the items but gasoline have been coordinated.

On February 11, the Prime Minister of Latvia Ivar Godmanis further stated at a session of the Popular Front faction: Russia is stubbornly wishing to slash the deliveries of gasoline from 250 to 90,000 tons [as received] per annum. We shall never agree to that.

Under an agreement with German companies of DEA and Tissan on the delivery to the Republic of 6,000 tons of AU-93 gasoline of this type only is manufactured in Germany, on February 11 2,500 tons of gasoline were delivered to [word indistinct] Port and further 3,500 tons are due to be delivered by the week's end. Each ton of gasoline delivered cost the Republic US [U.S. dollars] 227. To buy this lot, Latvia received a credit from the USA to the amount of US 2.5M. It is expected that the entire gasoline purchased shall be used to meet the needs of public health, police and farming. In case Latvia is solvent Germany is prepared to sell the Republic 10,000 tons of gasoline per month.

Godmanis Delivers Address on Economic Issues

LD2002235992 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1830 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Radio address by Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis on 18 February—recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening, esteemed people of Latvia. In my short address today I would like to look at several current economic questions that the government is occupied with at the moment, describing the situation as it has developed in February and taking into account both the external and internal economic processes taking place in Latvia.

First it must be said that despite all our present efforts, so far we have not solved the economic problems with Russia. Since November we have not officially received a single liter of gasoline, nor virtually any other type of fuel. Yesterday, together with the Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs, I sent an official telegram to Russian President Yeltsin about the situation. We believe that despite the agreement concluded between Latvia and Russia, the Russian side is not fulfilling its obligations. We have received a great deal of proof (?which lends weight to this). This week I will

ascertain our future economic relations, both at the ministries in Moscow and in a direct meeting with Yegor Gaydar.

I can only say that our relations with Russia are [words indistinct]. We are starting to feel it not only in agriculture, where there are the most [word indistinct] shortages, especially in rural areas, and [word indistinct] agricultural prices. However, there have not been such [word indistinct] in the rural areas of Latvia, with the most difficulties in Kuldiga, Madona, and [word indistinct], even with (?hay production). Problems have also appeared in industries. [passage omitted]

Regarding the press, I would like to say that I am very sympathetic regarding the situation where the press is not publishing. I am a little [word indistinct] in the situation where at the time the press publications did not turn to the government with this problem. In January, when the press house was reclaimed for us, we were [word indistinct] fully the newspapers for a month. An alternative printing house for the government's efforts, [words indistinct] printing house was working fully, yet the press house had none at all. We will do the same [word indistinct]; we will acquire paper. The paper that is produced will not be of the best quality, but we cannot [word indistinct] at this moment, giving out hard currency and buying paper [word indistinct].

At the moment we have questions regarding medicines and fuel, which are linked to survival. Although I sympathize with journalists, we [word indistinct] that at the moment these processes are very important and serious. We cannot go on solving problems without political actions. I especially emphasize that we must concern ourselves only with political activities. At the moment we are at a point on our road of independence where the correct solution of economic questions is to focus on political tasks in order to strengthen and ensure our political independence.

Birkavs Approved as Deputy Head of Parliament

OW1902223192 Moscow *BALTFAX* in English
1941 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the leaders of the Latvian Popular Front group in the Latvian parliament, Valdis Birkavs, has been approved as a new deputy head for the Latvian parliament. It has been decided to abolish the post of first deputy head of the parliament (the post has been vacant since Dainis Ivans resigned from it) and replace it with two equal posts of deputy heads. The other deputy has yet to be appointed.

Trade, Economic Protocol Signed With Lithuania

LD1902023792 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1830 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Latvian Foreign Trade Minister Edgars Zausajevs and Vilius Zidonis, Lithuanian minister of trade and

material resources, today signed a protocol in Riga on trade and economic cooperation in 1992.

Russian Grain Imports Agreement To Take Effect

*LD2002230692 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1000 GMT 20 Feb 92*

[Text] The resolution of the government of the Republic today takes effect whereby in future the payment for Russian grain imports using Latvian ports will be made in kind. In connection with our Ministry of Agriculture's agreement with representatives of the Russian Federation, this transit duty will be up to about six percent of the amount of the imported grain.

Ministry Protests Former Soviet Troops' Conduct

*LD1602120892 Riga Radio Riga International
in English 0700 GMT 16 Feb 92*

[Text] The Foreign Ministry of Latvia has sent a renewed letter of protest to its Russian counterpart which complains that former Soviet troops stationed on Latvia's territory do not conduct themselves in a way for the status of now being foreign soldiers in a sovereign state. It is brought to the Foreign Ministry's attention in Russia that the number of officers has increased in a number of garrisons in Latvia due, in part, to the stationing of some 500 officers previously serving in the ex-German Democratic Republic. The protest also goes on to say that in some cases dismantling of military equipment has been badly planned and sometimes leads to the unnecessary destruction of woodland areas. Reports were included in the letter which suggest that the Army of the former Soviet Union is disregarding the jurisdiction of Latvian coastguards, a particular incident of which took place in Liepaja on 5 February. The whole situation throws doubt on Russia's commitment to ensure the complete withdrawal of the troops from Latvia as agreed.

'Open Threat' From Former OMON Members

*LD1702191192 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 92*

[Text] According to DIENA, a daily newspaper published in Latvia, the Government of Latvia has allegedly received a statement from the former Lithuanian and Riga Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] members currently deployed in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS].

The statement, a copy of which was also sent to the Russian leadership, is an open threat issued against criminal investigation and procuracy officials who are soon to leave for Russia to investigate the criminal activity of the OMON.

For each of our comrades, 10 enemies of the OMON will suffer, the OMON statement says. The statement was signed on behalf of the Riga OMON by (Vladimir Antifyev and Anatoliy Navishev).

The authors of the statement maintain that an investigating group has been set up in Latvia to destroy the members of the OMON and to provoke a situation in which firearms are used.

Commenting on this letter, Jazeps Ancans, deputy procurator general of Latvia, said that the Latvian criminal investigation officials will not be deterred by the open threats from the OMON. The statement concerning the investigating group and the allegations that the representatives of the Latvian law and order protection bodies are going to Russia to prosecute members of the OMON are denied by the official.

Mr. Ancans said that the names of the OMON servicemen who are being sought have been sent to the Russian Federation Interior Ministry. The right to detain these servicemen rests with the officials of the Russian Criminal Investigation Department and only after that can the issue of internment of these servicemen be discussed.

Only Courts Can Decide Guilt

*OW2002143092 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1340 GMT 20 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In response to to BF's [BALTFAX's] request to assess actions by the Riga and Vilnius OMON [special purpose militia detachment] in January 1991, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Andrey Dunayev said that only court can determine whether they are guilty or not. He personally does not know if they have committed crimes or not. Dunayev said that former Interior Minister of Latvia Aloiz Vaznis had showed him some documents in Moscow, "Providing certain evidence of the crime".

In Dunayev's opinion, Russia and the Baltics can launch a joint investigation into the incidents with participation of Riga and Vilnius OMON members, including vice-commander of the Riga OMON Sergey Parfenov who is currently in custody in Latvia. Dunayev noted that this problem was discussed during Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhrai's recent tour of the Baltics and is now being tackled.

Dunayev expressed hope that specialists, not politicians, will deal with such problems. He said "intrigues around this problem hamper interaction between interior bodies of the involved countries. Asked about possible whereabouts of the former chiefs of the Riga and Vilnius OMON Ceslovas Mlinnik and Boleslav Makutinovic, Dunayev said: "Nobody is looking for them and they are not hiding". "At least, I haven't ordered to detain them", he added.